LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE MUGHALS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

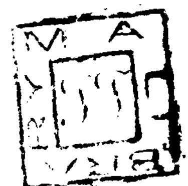
THESIS PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

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NOVEMBER, 1959.



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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

The present work aims at a detailed study of Mughal land revenue administration in the first half of the 18th century. It is the first systematic study of the working of land revenue administration based on the available material, especially the documentary evidence which has so far been sparingly utilised. The chapters on the *jagirdari* system, *ijarahdari* system, *zamindar* and *zamindari*, the *madad maash* grants and the interpretation of *nasaq*, in particular, may be regarded as an original contribution to the study of Mughal land revenue system.

The origin, nature and extent of the crisis in the *jagirdari* system has been examined and its repurcussions on the political and administrative stability of the Empire have been indicated. The crisis revealed itself in the form of an overwhelming increase in the number of *mansabdars* and a corresponding decrease in the available *jagirs* for assignment. This, in turn, led to an inordinate inflation of the *jama* and keen competition among the various classes which clamoured for *mansabs* and *jagirs*. These developments seriously impaired the political and administrative stability of the Empire and served to aggravate the agrarian crisis.

The old practice of *ijarah* reappeared in the reign of Jahangir and continued to grow during the 17th century. While it was common in *jagir* lands, in *khalsa* lands it was rather limited and was permitted only under special circumstances. However, after the death of Bahadur Shah the practice became wide-spread in *khalsa* as well as in *jagir* lands. The development affected the working of the land

revenue administration adversely and impaired its stability still further. The effects of revenue-farming on zamindars and peasants were ruinous. This practice gave rise to a class of bankers and speculators who invested their money in revenue-farming and thus emerged a class of intermediaries which was distinct from the hereditary zamindars. The rise of this new class led to keen competition among its members to bid higher and higher for a land-revenue demand which exceeded the normal jama and ultimately resulted in an increased burden on the peasantry. The hereditary zamindar was faced with a difficult choice: he had to outbid the ijarahdar or withdraw from the contest. In either case, it was not easy for him to escape ruin. As the practice of ijarahdari became wide-spread, many old families of hereditary zamindars were forced to sell their zamindari rights to powerful neighbouring zamindars (who gradually carved out for themselves taluqahdaris) or they were ousted by the rich bankers from the towns and cities who emerged as absentee landlords.

The position of the village zamindar has been examined on the basis of documentary evidence and it has been shown that the village zamindar was quite distinct from the vassal chief who paid a fixed tribute or held his zamindari as jagir in lieu of his salary as a mansabdar, and that the village zamindar as an intermediary paid land revenue or mal-i-wajib. The village zamindar existed in almost all the mahals of the Empire since the reign of Akbar. However, his presence was not incompatible with the direct relationship between the State and the peasants. It was the nasaq arrangement in the form of

group assessment which served to eliminate the direct relationship between the State and the peasant. In the first half of the 18th century the practice of nasaq on a large scale strengthened the position of the zamindar as an intermediary.

The institution of madad maash grants has been, for the first time, studied in detail and its impact on the political, social and economic life of rural Hindustan has been indicated. Politically, the institution served the purpose of creating pockets of local influence which could be depended upon for loyal support to the State. Economically, it created a class spread all over the country which, like the zamindars, depended for its livelihood on the surplus produce from the land. The madad maash grants were free from all taxes but the grants were generally small and, therefore, the majority of madad maash holders were not much better of than the village zamindars. They were not called zamindars but they practically enjoyed the same rights in land as the hereditary zamindars. Thus the institution ultimately merged, more or less, into the institution of zamindari and served to widen the class of intermediaries. Socially, the institution fostered and promoted a greater understanding between the religious communities living together in villages as well as a link between the culture of the court and the rural population.

The various methods of assessment such as zabt, kankut, nasaq and ghallah-bakhshi obtained side by side in different parts of the Empire. The assessing officers were enjoined to be generous in offering option to the peasants and the zamindars to choose one of the various methods of assessments. However nasaq in the form of group

assessment appears to have been the general practice.

An examination of documentary evidence suggests that Nasaq was fundamentally a system of assessment based on previous records. Assessment could be made on individual holdings or on the village as a whole. It was not exclusively group assessment as suggested by Moreland. Under Akbar, in the areas under nasaq, the settlement was made with the individual peasant. However, in the last quarter of the 17th century and first half of the 18th century it was invariably group assessment.

The investigations made in the course of the present study clearly bring out the nature of the administrative crisis with which the Mughal Empire was faced in the first half of the 18th century, and indicate the relationship between the administrative crisis and political disintegration of the Empire. The present study reveals that the rot in the administrative institutions having set in since the second half of the 17th century, the vitality of the Empire was gradually sapped. During the first half of the 18th century agrarian and administrative crisis began to reflect itself in the form of local revolts, religious antagonism, factionalism at the court and degeneration of the ruling classes. The crisis gradually tended to become deeper and more complex and ultimately led to the political disintegration of the Empire. The rise of the Marathas, and the Jats, the unrest and periodical revolts in Bundelkhand and Rajputana and factionalism at the court might have been actuated partially by political, religious and personal motives but beneath them all lay hunger for assignments and land.

Sources:

The studies are mainly based on documentary evidence which has been supplemented by the evidence contained in the chronicles. The sources can be broadly classified into the following categories:

1. Allahabad Documents
2. Collections of Letters and Documents
3. Administrative Manuals
4. Works dealing with the technical terms and administrative practices
5. [illegible]
6. Chronicles
7. British records

The Allahabad Documents comprise a large number of farmans, parwanas, sale-deeds, judicial decrees etc. and are available in U.P. State Records Office, Allahabad. They cover the period from Akbar to [illegible] Shah and for our purposes their main interest lies in the specific information they contain about the institutions of madad-i-maash and [illegible] grants.

The Collection of Letters and Documents contain a large number of such documents as nishans, [illegible], farmans and letters of appointment for various offices. These documents throw considerable light on the administrative procedure and practices and functions and duties of officials. More valuable among these are the [illegible]

The Administrative Manuals give a systematic account of the Mughal administrative system and valuable documents have been inserted in the course of narrative to illustrate the nature of the documents maintained by various officials. Among these mention should be made of the Khulasat-us-Siyaq, the Farhang-i-Kardani, the Zawabit-i-Alamgiri and the Hidayat-ul-Qawanin.

Valuable information is also available in such works as the Mirat-ul-Istilah, the Risalah-i-Ziraat and the Glossary of Revenue Terms by Khwaja Yasin of Delhi. These works explain and define the technical terms of land revenue administration.

Waqai or news letters are the most valuable and authentic source for studying the working of the land revenue system. Waqa-i-Sarkar Ajmer and Ranthambore and the Selected Waqai of the Deccan have been used in the course of the present studies.

The documentary evidence has been supplemented by the evidence contained in the chronicles such as the Ahwal-ul-Khawaqin the Tazkirat-ul-Muluk, the Shah Nama-i-Munwarr-ul-Kalam, the Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, the Siyar-ul-Mutakkhirin , the Riyas-us-Salatin and other contemporary Persian chronicles. Some British records such as the Selections from the Revenue Records of the North Western Provinces, 1818-1821 and the reports contained in the "Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal, 1769-1787", by R.B.Rambsbotham, have also been utilised.

PREFACE

The study of political, social, and administrative institutions of the Mughals has been increasingly attracting the attention of scholars for some time. Pioneer work by eminent historians has already been done. Nevertheless, it is felt that to put the social, economic and administrative history on a scientific basis much has still to be done and fresh material, especially the documentary evidence should be properly studied. The work has been taken up by the Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh and the institution of the nobility, the mansabdari system, the land revenue administration, and the religious movements are being studied on the basis of available material in India and in the libraries abroad. The present work forms a part of these studies and aims at a study of the land revenue administration in the first-half of the 18th century. The study has been confined to these years because some scholars had been already working on the land revenue system under the Great Mughals. The reason for closing the study by the middle of the 18th century has been a recognition of the fact that by that time the Mughal Empire as such had ceased to be a political and administrative reality. The present studies have been mainly based on documentary evidence, which has been supplemented by evidence contained in the chronicles.

I wish to take this opportunity to confess that the nature of the work required not only enormous reading but also a mature and clear understanding and a mastery over the technical details of the land revenue administration. The present writer has no such pretensions.

On the other hand the present writer, in the course of his studies, has been often overwhelmed with the intricate and difficult nature of the problems to be investigated and was acutely conscious of his mental and academic limitations. If I pursued the studies, inspite of these limitations, it was because of a belief in the Kant's maxim: it is necessary and, therefore, it should be done; and if the work was completed it was on account of the constant help and encouragement given to me by my teacher and superviser Prof.S.A.Rashid and my esteemed colleague Dr.Irfan Mohd.Habib.

In the preparation of this thesis my indebtedness and gratitude to my teacher and supervisor Prof.S.A.Rashid is too deep for words. His liberal outlook of life as well of history has inspired me to study the historical evidence with a detached view, as far as it is humanly possible His able guidance and unfailing interest in my work has given me the spirit to work with courage and hope, and his constant help available at every stage has greatly facilitated the completion of my work. My grateful thanks are also due to my colleague Dr.Irfan Mohd.Habib, who drew my attention to a number of important sources such as Risala-i-Ziraat, Glossary of Revenue Terms by Khwaja Yasin of Delhi and Durrul Ulum. He was also kind enough to give valuable suggestions about some of the difficult problems connected with the land revenue administration under the Mughals.

Aligarh
31st October,1959.

Noman Ahmad Siddiqi

INTRODUCTION

The opening years of the 18th century marked the zenith of territorial expansion of the Mughal Empire, but within the few decades following the death of Aurangzeb the Empire began to disintegrate. Political developments in the country, wrangling of parties and groups at the court, and weakening of the administrative system, all tended to foster and encourage the forces of disintegratinn. Maratha inroads into the imperial territory became a recurring feature; the Sikhs and the Jats, and even the Rajputs, on accasions, did not miss an opportunity to defy the imperial authority. The powerful nobles of the Empire set out to carve out semi-independent principalities for themselves. The struggle between groups of powerful nobles turned the court into a hot-bed of intrigues and machinations which served to weaken the authority of the emperor and impaired the military power and administrative stability of the Empire. Moreover, these developments were accompanied by and closely related to an ever deepening crisis in the working of the _jagirdari_ system. Thus the Mughal Empire was heading towards its inevitable collapse. The victory of the Persian forces in 1739 destroyed the morale and prestige of the Mughal military power and accelerated the process of disintegration still further.

A careful and critical study of these developments is necessary for a proper understanding of the process of the rapid disintegration of the Mughal Empire. Valuable work on the political history of the period has been done by the Irvine and Sarkar. Dr.Satish Chandra's recent publication, "Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court 1707-1739", is a valuable study with special reference to the role of the nobility.

The organisation of the army has been dealt with by Irvine in his work "The Army of the Indian Mughals". Valuable as these studies are in their own way, they do not clearly bring out the nature and extent of the administrative and agrarian crisis, which had become quite marked by the last quarter of the 17th century and tended to be acute in the first half of the 18th century. Moreland in his work "The Agrarian System of Moslem India", has devoted a chapter to the agrarian developments in the 18th century. But the study is rather brief and no attempt has been made to correlate it with administrative developments in the Empire. Moreover, his study is based mainly on British records and he has made little attempt to utilise contemporary Persian sources which are rich in information and enable us to reconstruct the picture of land revenue administration in an intelligible way. The present work is essentially an attempt to fill this gap.

This thesis is concerned with the various aspects of the Mughal land revenue system in the first half of the 18th century. The changes and developments which occurred in the system have been studied and set in the context of the political and administrative disintegration of the Empire. The studies have been confined to the broad features of the Mughal land revenue administration which gave a basic uniformity to the system as a whole. The provincial and regional variations in the administrative practices and organisation of the institutions, have been excluded from the scope of present investigations. Special emphasis has been laid on the working of the jagirdari system and its repercussions on the agricultural community and the Mughal land revenue system have been noted. The institution of the village zamindar is

an extremely interesting subject of study and has been dealt with at length. Similarly the system of ijarahdari or revenue-farming and its actual working has been studied in detail. We have also made a detailed study of the institution of madad maash grants and examined its impact on the social, religious and economic life of rural Hindustan.

The land revenue administration in the first half of the 18th century was marked by certain developments which tended to weaken the administrative and financial stability of the Mughal Empire. Broadly speaking these developments were three-fold: the virtual breakdown of the jagirdari system as it was known and understood under the Great Mughals; the widespread practice of revenue-farming and the replacement of zabt by nasaq in the form of group assessment as the most important method of assessment.

During the later years of Aurangzeb's reign the failure of the jagirdari system to adapt itself to the changing conditions was revealed in the form of an overwhelming increase in the number of mansabdars, a corresponding decrease in the number of available jagirs for assignment, a highly inflated jama, and a keen competition among the various classes which clamoured for mansabs and jagirs. These tendencies in the jagirdari system continued and were accentuated in the years which followed the death of Aurangzeb. To meet the pressure of the mansabdars for jagirs assignments were made on khalsa lands and in the early years of Muhammad Shah's reign it was discovered that the bulk of the khalsa lands had been assigned as jagirs. Even this development did not ease the situation and the recruitment of

emergency forces on cash basis indicates that either the central government had ceased to exercise control over jagirdars or highly inflated jama figures had reduced the majority of mansabdars to financial difficulties under which they could not afford to maintain the requisite contingents. The total effect of these developments was that the jagirdari system failed to provide the State with a strong and efficient military service, and at the same time it failed to provide adequate means of livelihood to a large number of mansabdars and horsemen who were on the pay roll of the government. Such a state of affairs created the necessary conditions for rapid factionalism at the court, internal revolts within the Empire and frequent Maratha inroads into the imperial territory.

The crisis in the jagirdari system was accompanied by the widespread practice of revenue-farming. It appears that the practice of revenue-farming, on a limited scale, reappeared in the reign of Jahangir, assumed larger proportions after the death of Bahadur Shah and by the reign of Farrukh Siyyar it had become very wide-spread. The development owed its origin partly to the inflated nature of jama figures and partly to the growing weakness of the land revenue administration at various levels. The effect of the wide-spread practice of revenue-farming, however, on the zamindars and peasants was ruinous. It gave rise to a class of bankers and speculators who invested their money in the business of revenue-farming and thus emerged a class of intermediaries apart from the hereditary zamindars. The rise of the new class created artificial conditions for a keen competition to engage for land revenue which exceeded the normal jama and generally resulted in the ruin of the hereditary zamindars who were replaced

by a new class of revenue farmers. These revenue farmers were either the rich and powerful zamindars who gradually carved out talluqahdaris for themselves or were the rich bankers from the towns who emerged as absentee landlords. The effects of the revenue-farming system on the peasants were even worse. Whether the settlement was made with the revenue-farmers or with the zamindars the artificial conditions for competition invariably tended to increase the magnitude of land revenue demand on the peasants. Driven to extremity the peasants, in many cases, deserted their villages. Consequently cultivation suffered and production decreased.

The replacement of zabt by nasaq in the form of group assessment, as the most important and wide-spread method of assessment contributed still further to the agrarian crisis. The nasaq arrangement in the form of group assessment implied that the distribution of assessed jama was left in the hands of the intermediaries. This provided the necessary powers and opportunity to the intermediaries to raise the land revenue demand on the individual peasants.

Thus the agrarian crisis coupled with the crisis in the jagirdari system tended to impair the economic and administrative stability of the state. It also greatly weakened the military power of the empire so that it was left with little vitality to resist the revolts from within and agression from abroad.

II
Sources of Study

The present work is based mainly on original Persian sources, such as administrative mannuals, documents, news letters, chronicles,

contemporary works dealing with land revenue administration and glossaries of technical terms. The evidence available in these documents has been fully utilised and correlated with the evidence contained in the chronicles and news letters. These documents are extremely valuable for a proper understanding of the structure of the land revenue system at various levels such as those of a subah, sarkar and pargana. There is an important difference between administrative mannuals and collection of letters and documents. The administrative mannuals describe the administrative system of the Mughals more or less in a systematic way and documents are inserted in them to illustrate the nature of the papers maintained by various officials. The collection of letters and documents, while they do not give a systematic account of the administrative system, contain farmans, parwanahs, nishans, arzdashts and orders of appointment which throw considerable light on the administrative practices under the Mughals, especially the functions and duties of various officials, and the internal working of the land revenue administration. Another valuable feature of the administrative mannuals is that they contain the jamadami figures for the Empire and the pay scales of the mansabdars and the horsemen.

In order to understand the nature and origin of many institutions it has been found necessary to make a detailed study of such works as the Ain-i-Akbari, the Akbar Nama, and other important chronicles written in the 16th and 17th centuries. The relevant evidence contained in these earlier sources has been

carefully examined and correlated with the contemporary evidence. Similarly, some Persian works compiled in the second half of the 18th century and the earlyyears of 19th century such as the Glossary of Revenue Terms by Khwaja Yasin of Delhi, the Makhzan-i-Akhbar, the Diwan-Pasand, the Dastur-ul-Amal of Mahdi Ali Khan etc., have also been utilised since they contain evidence which either corroborates or supplements the evidence available in contemporary sources, or explains some technical terms which do not find a place in contemporary or earlier sources. Some British records compiled in the second half of the 18th century and in the first quarter of the 19th century have also been examined as they were prepared either on the basis of original Persian records studied by the British Officers who took over the native administration, or were based on the personal experience of these officers. To avoid confusion the date or period to which a particular piece of evidence relates has been indicated.

The sources examined in the course of our studies cover many important regions and provinces of the Empire. It appears that the Khulasat-us-Siyaq deals with the administrative practices obtaining in the Panjab, whereas the Nigar Nama-i-Munshi covers the provinces of the Panjab, Delhi and Agra. The Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas was compiled in Sambhal-Muradabad and may be taken as describing the administrative practices in the Sarkar Sambhal-Muradabad and in the vicinity of Delhi. The Allahabad documents, the Dastur-ul-Amal of Mahdi Ali Khan and the Makhzan-i-Akhbar relate to the province of Awad. The Farhang-i-Kardani, the Risala-i-Ziraat and Glossary of Revenue Terms by

Khwaja Muhammad Yasin deal with the administrative system of Bengal. The Waqa-i-Sarkar Ajmer and letters of Muzaffar Khan Barah and Gwalior Nama furnish valuable information about the administrative conditions in Ajmer and Rajputana. The Mirat-i-Ahmadi is a rich source of information for studying the administrative system in Gujrat. For the Deccan, useful information is available in the Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign and Selected Waqa'i of Deccan, published by the Daftar-i-Diwani, Hyderabad.

The sources may be conveniently divided into the following categories:-

1. Allahabad Documents
3. Collections of letters and documents
4. Administrative Mannuals
5. Works dealing with technical terms and administrative practices.
6. Waqai
7. Chronicles
8. British Records

The Allahabad Documents

A large number of farmans,[1] parwanahs,[2] sale-deeds, judicial decrees etc., are preserved in the U.P. State Records Office, Allahabad. I have examined about one thousand documents which cover the period from Akbar to Muhammad Shah. Almost invariably they are dated and bear the seal of some responsible officer or head of the

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1. Farman: a royal order bearing the seal of the emperor.
2. Parwanah: an order issued by departmental heads such as Diwan-i-Ala or Sadr-us-Sudur endorsing a grant of a jagir or madad maash land; an order issued by an officer to his subordinate.

department and as such their authentity cannot be questioned. They contain extremely valuable information about the social, economic and administrative conditions that obtained under the Mughals. For our purposes, however, their main interest lies in the specific information they contain about the institution of zamindari and madad maash grants. The farmans and parwanahs generally deal with the grant, confirmation or renewal of madad maash land whereas the sale deeds record the sale of zamindari rights, and indicate that the zamindari rights were transferrable in their nature.

2. Collections of Letters and Documents:

Collections of letters and documents contain personal letters exchanged between administrative officials serving at various levels, and arzdashts[1] addressed to the prince and the emperor. They also contain a large number of such documents as parwanahs, nishans[2], farmans and letters of appointment, for various offices. These letters and documents throw considerable light on the administrative procedures, and practices, functions and duties of various officials at various levels and the actual working of the Mughal administrative system. Some of these collections contain rich information about the land revenue system and, therefore, they deserve a separate notice.

Nigar Nama-i-Munshi: Manuscript Lytton, M.U.Aligarh Sulaiman 900/7., printed Lytton M.U.Aligarh Farsiyah 5448/891.

The printed as well as the manuscript text of the work is

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1. A petition or an official communication addressed by a subordinate to his superior.

2. Nishan: an instruction, order, or communication issued by a member of the royal family to any one except the emperor.

is available in the Lytton Library Muslim University,Aligarh. I have used both the texts. The valuable work was compiled by Munshi generally known as Malikzada in 1098 A.H./1688 A.D. It has been divided into two daftars or volumes, the first comprising the drafts composed by Munshi when he served under the Diwans of prince Shah Alam. The second volume contains the drafts composed by other Munshis. The work contains personal letters exchanged between hobles and princes, arzdashts submitted to the Emperor, farmans, nishans, parwanahs, letters of appointments and orders issued to local officers.

The work is valuable and authentic as the author was in a position to acquire the originals of the documents included in the compilation. It covers almost all the branches of administration excluding the mansabdari system and throws considerable light on jagirdari system, functions and duties of various officials, ijarahdari, methods of assessment. Moreover, the farman issued to Rasik Das Karori in the 8th regnal year is available in it. The farman can be regarded as a brilliant summary of the conditions that obtained in the land revenue administration in the opening years of Aurangzeb's reign. It critically examines the working of the land revenue administration and lays down concrete proposals for improving the tone of land revenue administration.

Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas: Lytton Library, M.U.Aligarh Subhan Ullah 954/4.

It is a collection of letters and documents compiled in 1144 A.H./1731 A.D. by Jawahar Mal Baikas who served as Munshi in

the office of the Diwan of Sambhal Muradabad. The work has been divided into seven sections and contains letters of appointments, undertaking, arzdashts, applications seeking instructions and orders from the superior officers and a few documents dealing with administrative practices in the land revenue administration. The evidence contained in the documents covers almost all the branches of administration of the sarkar and pargana levels. For our purposes valuable information is available about the methods of assessment, the functions and duties of Amin, Karori, Qanungo and the officers connected with the pargana treasury. Of special value and interest are the letters exchanged between the local Amin and Faujdar and Sobah Singh, the Zamindar of Jhangar, which give a rare insight into the agrarian conditions that obtained in the period under our study and bring out the keen competition between the revenue-farmers and the zamindars to engage for the collection and payment of land revenue. A document described as muchilka or undertaking on behalf of the zamindars and Muqaddams gives valuable information about the agrarian relationship that subsisted between the agiruccltural community comprising the village zamindars and the peasants.

III. Administrative Manuals.

The administrative manuals give more or less systematic account of the Mughal administrative system and cover almost all the branches of Mughal administration. These include the works entitled Dastur-ul-Amal as well as such works as the Khulasat-us-Siyaq and the Farhang-i-Kardani. Some of these

administrative mannuals deal more specifically with the working of the Mughal administration at the centre whereas others contain detailed information about the local administration. The administrative mannuals generally deal with the administrative practices and functions and duties of various officials. They contain a list of papers maintained by them, copy of the accounts maintained by the pargana officials, jama figures for the provinces together with the number of sarkars and mahals in each province and the distance between the important towns. However, some of the works entitled Dastur-ul-Amals contain only the jama figures for the provinces, the number of sarkars and parganas in each province, and the distances between the important towns. However, the jama figures contained in these works are valuable for a comparative study of the ticklish problem of jama. Some of the administrative mannuals are extremely useful for the study of land revenue administration and their value as a source of information can be briefly indicated.

Farhang-i-Kardani: Lytton Library, M.U.Aligarh Abdus Salam 85/315.

The work was compiled by Jagat Rai Shujai Kayasth at Jahangir Nagar, Dhaka in 1090 A.H./1679. The work has been divided into nineteen sections and deals with the administrative practices of the offices of Diwan-i-Ala, Mir Bakhshi, Mir Saman and Sadr. The nineteenth sections describes the administrative practices in the land revenue administration. The account is lucid and clear and contains valuable information about the functions and duties of Diwan, Amin and Karori. The procedure of the grant of jagir and madad maash land has been described and the methods of assessment have

been defined. The pargana accounts such as khasra zabti and jamabandi have been reproduced. The work also contains the jama figures for the provinces, and the number of sarkars and parganas in each province.

Zawabit-i-Alamgiri: British Museum Rieu III Cor. 1641

The work was compiled in the closing years of 17th century which can be inferred from the internal evidence. The list of Mir Bakhshis contains the name of Bahramand Khan as the last Bakhshi who succeeded Ruh-ullah Khan. The latter died in 1691-1692. Thus the work seems to have been compiled either in the closing years of 17th century or in the beginning of the 18th century before the death of Aurangzeb. The work provides valuable information about the various branches of Mughal administration and like similar works contains jama figures for the provinces, together with the number of sarkars and parganas and the distances between the principal towns. Primarily the work deal with the central structure of the Mughal administration and its internal working. The distribution of work in each of the three important departments of Diwan-i-Ala, Mir Bakhshi and Khan-i-Saman among various officials had been described and day to day working of the departments had been recorded. The work also provides extremely valuable information about the mansabdari systems and contains the pay scales for zat and tabinan and for naqadis and jagirdars. It also deals with rules and regulations governing the leaves obtained by the mansabdars and with intricate rules for numerous deductions made from the salary of the mansabdars.

For our purposes the relevant evidence is available in the section dealing with the office of the Diwan-i-Ala. It enumerates the functions and duties of Diwan-i-Ala and describes the distribution of work between Diwan-i-Khalsa and Diwan-i-Tan. The work also contains the jama figures for revenues from khalsa land under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb which can be co-related with similar evidence elsewhere and a comparative study of the increase or decrease in khalsa lands can be undertaken.

The figures showing the income and expenditure at the end of Shahjahan's reign and in the 25th year of Aurangzeb's reign are interesting and can be usefully studied.

Dastur-ul-Amal-Alamgiri: British Museum Rieu I, Add.6599.

The work was compiled in the first regnal year of Aurangzeb and appears to be an abstract of rules and regulations governing the various branches of administration, It contains considerable information for acquiring working knowledge of arithmetic required for keeping accounts in various departments. Some information is also available about the weights and measures. The work also contains very summary treatment of the functions of various officials. The relevant information about land revenue administration is available in the documents reproducing the pargana accounts which corroborate the similar evidence available in the Khulasat-us-Siyaq. However, the arrangement of the accounts in Khulasat-us-Siyaq seems to be more systematic and coherent than in Dastur-ul-Amal Alamgiri. Of special interest is a document reproducing the mawazanah dah salah also known as taqsim. The jamadami figures for the provinces

together with the number of sarkars and parganas are also given. The jama figures contained in the work relate to the first year of Aurangzeb's reign and help to make a comparative study of subsequent increase in the jama. Secondly evidence about the pargana accounts available in it can be compared and verified, with similar evidence contained in other sources.

Khulasat-us-Siyaq: Lytton Library M.U.Aligarh Sulaiman 909/74; Subhan-ullah 900/15.

This is a valuable administrative mannual dealing with the mansabdari system, land revenue administration and the department of Mir-i-Saman. The work was compiled in 1115 A.H. 1703-4 A.D., and most probably in the province of the Panjab. The name of the author is not given but we are told in the introduction that he was closely associated with the work of administration and his treatise was based on personal experience as well as on a number of administrative mannuals known as Siyaq Namas. The chapter dealing with the land revenue administration gives a brief and lucid account of the functions and duties of Diwan-i-Ala, Diwan-i-Subah, Amin and Karori together with a list of papers maintained by the land revenue officers in the province. The measurement operation and methods of assessment have been described. Of special interest are the pargana accounts showing the area under various methods of assessment, the jamabandi or details of assessed land revenue, and the statement of the income and expenditure of the pargana. Of equal value are the accounts of the mahal pai-baqi and bar-amad-i-amilan

which have been defined and illustrated by reproducing the accounts maintained under the two heads. *Jama* figures for the provinces, and the number of sarkars and *mahals* have also been given.

Thus the work can be regarded as a most authentic, and useful account of the land revenue administration in the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign.

Dastur-ul-Amal of Mahdi Ali Khan:

The manuscript is preserved in the U.P.State Records Office, Allahabad. No date is given but the internal evidence suggests that it was issued in 1237 Fasli year corresponding to 1828 A.D. It was issued when Nawab Mahdi Ali Khan was the Nazim of the territories comprising Khairabad, Muhammadi and Bahraich. He came into prominence in the reign of Saadat Ali Khan (1795-1814). In 1804 he obtained the lease of Chakla Muhammadi and later on in 1817 he secured the lease of Khairabad and Baraich. He died in 1831.

The *Dastur-ul-Amal* appears to be an administrative mannual issued for the instruction and guidance of local officers in the land revenue administration. It contains 63 clauses and furnishes valuable information about the rights of the *zamindars* and peasants and methods of assessment that obtained in Awadh. The relevant evidence contained in the *Dastur-ul-Amal* substantially corroborates the similar evidence contained in the works compiled in the 18th century. It contains confirmatory evidence indicating the continuity of certain Mughal institutions in the 19th century.

A number of statistical accounts are entitled as *dastur-ul-amals* but they do not give any account of the administrative system.

However, they contain the *jama* figures for the provinces, the number of sarkars and mahals in each province, and the distance between the important towns in a tabular form. These *jama* figures given in the statistical account are of some interest as they help to undertake a comparative study of the problem of *jama* during the Mughal rule. These statistical account are available in such works as the *Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahjahani*, the *Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahinshahi* and the *Dastur-ul-Amal* by Lachmi Narain Shafiq.

1. *Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahjahani* compiled in the reign of Aurangzeb, British Museum Rieu II Add. 6588(iii)
2. *Dastur-ul-Amal-i-*Shahinshahi by Thakur Lal Kayasth compiled in 1246 A.H./1830 A.D. British Museum Rieu I, Add. 22831.
3. *Dastur-ul-Amal* by Lachmi Narain Shafiq compiled in 1208 A.H./1793 Lytton M.U.Aligarh F.A.73.

Hidayat-ul-Qawaid: Lytton M.U.Aligarh A.S.149/379.

The work was compiled in 1120 A.H./1708-9 by Hidayat Ullah Bihari. The author seems to have been attached with court as is suggested by his title of Munshi awarded by Farrukh Siyyar. The work has been divided into five chapters and each of the chapter into a number of sections. It covers almost all the branches of administration and gives the functions and duties of official working in the various departments. The sections dealing with Amin, Karori, and Qanungo contain valuable information especially for evaluating the functions and duties of these officials. The section on the *zamindari* gives insight into the conditions of the *jagirdars*, *zamindars* and the peasants.

Books dealing with technical terms:

Some useful information is available in a number of works

which define and explain the technical terms. Among these mention should be made of the *Mirat-us-Istilah*, the *Risala-i-Ziraat* and a glossary of Revenue Terms prepared by Khwaja Muhammad Yasin of Delhi.

1. *Mirat-ul-Istilah*: Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu Aligarh Manuscript No.42

The work was prepared by Anand Ram Mukhlis, a person who was attached to the Court of Muhammad Shah. The date of the compilation is not given but it appears that he compiled it in the last years of his life. The work mostly explains difficult literary words and terms but a section of the book deals with the technical terms used in the Mughal administrative system such as *jagir*, *tiyul*, *khalsa* and *zamindar*. Incidentally, it throws some light on the working of the *jagirdari* system.

2. *Risala-i-Ziraat*: Edinburg (p.123) No.144

The name of the author and the date of the compilation are not given. The internal evidence, however, suggests that the work was completed before the advent of the British. The book is divided into nine sections. For our purposes the relevant information is available in sections 3,4 and 8. These sections define the various types of ryots, describe the functions and duties of various officers and give a good account of the *ijarahdari* system and its actual working.

The work contains interesting information about the agrarian and fiscal condition of Bengal on the eve of the English conquest of Bengal. It is very useful for the period under our study as it contains the explanation of terms, revenue usuages and administrative

practices.

3. Glossary of Revenue Terms by Khwaja Yasin of Delhi, Rieu II, 802, Add.603

The work is extremely valuable for it defines and explains a number of revenue terms used under the Mughals. The date of compilation is not given but we learn in the introduction that the book is written for the English officers and their Munshis. It appears that the author was closely associated with the land revenue administration and felt himself quite competent to undertake the useful work. He sometimes differantiates between the practices of Bengal and Delhi which indicates that most probably he migrated to Bengal from Delhi. Muhammad Shah has been mentioned as the last Mughal Emperor and a list of all subas of the Empire is given. Thus the internal evidence suggests that the work was compiled in the second half of the 18th century. However, the evidence contained in it can be used as contemporary evidence for the period under our study.

4. *Waqai*:

Waqai or news reports sent from the provinces to the imperial court are the most valuable and authentic source for studying the actual working of the administrative system under the Mughals. Unfortunately I have not been able to make a useful study of the *waqai* and *akhbarat* available in the Jaipur archives. However, I have gone through the selected Waqai of Deccan published by the Daftar-i-Diwani, Hyderabad and transcript copy of *Waqai* Sarkar Ajmer and Ranthambore available in the Research Library of the

Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh.

5. Waqai Sarkar Ajmer and Ranthambore.

The transcript has been made from the manuscript available at the Daftar-i-Diwani, Hyderabad. The reports were prepared by Inayat Ullah Khan, the Bakhshi and Akhbar Nawis of the province of Ajmer. They cover the period from Jamadi-us-Sani, 22 regnal year of Aurangzeb to the beginning of the 24th regnal year. The news reports contain valuable information about the origin and development of war between the Mughal Emperor and the Rajputs and give a graphic account of the moves and movements in both the camps. Valuable information is available about the actual working of the civil and military administration. A few passages throw some light on the duties of Karori and Amin and the position of the zamindars and jagirdars.

6. Chronicles;

The study of the documentary evidence has been supplemented and correlated with the evidence contained in the chronicles, printed as well as manuscripts. They cover the period from the reign of Akbar to the middle of the 18th century. Generally the chroniclers show little interest in the administrative details as such but the incidental references in the course of general narration are of considerable value as they reveal the actual working of the administrative system. Moreover, some of the chronicles contain specific information about the Mughal land revenue system. Among these mention should be specially made of the Akbar Nama, the Muntakhab-ul-Lubab and the Mirat-i-Ahmadi. The Muntakhab-ul-Lubab

by Khafi Khan contains valuable information about working of the central administration and especially about the developments in the jagirdari system since the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign. The Mirat-i-Ahmadi is perhaps the most important chronicle, next to Akbar Nama, for studying the Mughal administrative system. It contains a large number of farmans and contents of imperial orders which throw considerable light on the various branches of Mughal administration, especially the mansabdari system and land revenue administration. It contains information about the institution of zamindari, ijarahdari, the functions and duties of various officials, methods of assessments, and about the rights and interests of the agricultural community in land. The statistical account of the jamadami, and number of sarkars together with number of mahals, given in the supplement, is useful for a comparative study of jama figures in details which are also available in the Ain.

Similarly stray passages in other chronicles such as the Ahwal-ul-Khwaqin, the Tazkirat-ul-Muluk, the Shah Nama Munawwar-ul-Kalam, the the Riaz-us-Salatin and the Seir-ul-Mutaakhirin contain important and useful information about the actual working of the institutions such as jagirdari, zamindari, and revenue-farming, and give a fairly good idea of the process of administrative disintegration of the Empire. It is not possible to examine all the chronicles in some detail but a list of the important chronicles along with the names of their authors and dates of their compilation will be included in the bibliography.

British Records:

For a proper understanding of some of the institutions we have also drawn on the British records, especially the "Selections From

the Revenue Records Of the Western Provinces 1818-1821, and documents contained in the "Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal 1769-1787," by R.B.Ramsbotham. The Revenue Selections contain extremely valuable information about the zamindars, Muqaddams, peasants and the village servants, and at times relevant evidence corroborates the contemporary evidence contained in the Persian sources. The report on the office of the Qanungo contained in the "Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal" is an extremely valuable and comprehensive study of the origin and development of the office of the Qanungo under the Mughals.

CHAPTER I

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION UNDER AURANGZEB

The reign of Aurangzeb, like that of Akbar, is significant for a number of developments in the Mughal land revenue system. It saw some changes in the relative importance of the methods of assessment, a probable increase in the land revenue demand, a multiplication of intermediaries and an enormous increase in the *jama*[1] figures when compared with those under Akbar. The reign is also notable for an unprecedented increase in the number of *mansabdars*, and a corresponding decrease in the number of *pai-baqi*[2] or *jagirs* available for assignment. A critical examination of these developments reveals that the land revenue administration and the *mansabdari* system were faced with a grave crisis which tended to undermine the political and administrative stability of the Mughal Empire. Thus the reign of Aurangzeb has a two-fold significance. In the first place, it saw the development of certain tendencies which were inherent in the system of Akbar, even though he himself might have disapproved of them. Secondly, these developments determined very largely the history of land revenue administration in the first half of the eighteenth century.

The reign of Aurangzeb opened under the shadow of a prolonged

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1. literally amount; in land revenue administration it signified total amount of rent or revenue; here it refers to valuation or the maximum estimated income of the Empire.

2. *jagir* lands resumed and not yet assigned constituted the *mahal* known as *pai-baqi*, or the *mahal* available for assignment.

civil war. It considerably affected the political and administrative stability of the Empire. The situation in the opening years of the reign is recorded in the Alamgir Nama[1] and in a farman addressed to Rasikdas Karori.[2] It appears that cultivation suffered on account of the ravages committed by local chieftains who took advantage of the disturbed conditions in the Empire and did not miss the opportunity of defying the authority of the king with impunity. Local officers neglected the proper assessment of land and the records maintained by them were deemed unsatisfactory by the Revenue Ministry which could not exercise necessary control over the local administration in the absence of reliable data regarding agrarian problems. It was also suspected that they were corrupt and indulged in malpractices, calculated to defraud the state and oppress the peasantry. There was general decrease in cultivation and the situation was alarming. The Revenue Ministry took a serious view of the situation. A thorough enquiry into the agrarian conditions of the country was made and specific evils in the working of the land revenue administration were pointed out. The farman issued to Rasikdars Karori records a critical examination of the situation and contains necessary regulations for improving the tone of administration.

Methods of Assessment: In the farman under reference the methods of assessment are given in order of priority.[3] The evidence about the methods of assessment may be supplemented by the evidence con-

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1. Alamgir Nama pp. 436, 437
2. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi ff.129-131
3. Ibid ff. 129-131

tained in the *Farhang-i-Kardani* and the *Khulasat-us-Siyaq* which describe the various methods of assessment that obtained in the Empire.[1] The *farman* under reference says that the *jama* of the most of the villages of the parganas was assessed in the beginning of the year on the basis of records showing the maximum collections, collections for the past year, the area of arable land and the resources of the ryots.[2] The method of assessment described in the *farman* has not been named but its description fits in with the description of *nasaq* in the *Farhang-i-Kardani*. We are told by Jagat Rai Shujai that the first method of assessment was *nasaq* which implied an assessment on the basis of *mawazanah-dah-salah*,[3] the *jama* figures for the last ten years. In order to determine the *jama* the Amin struck an average of the jama for the ten or twelve years and prepared the *jamabandi* or the revenue demand.[4] Some confirmatory evidence is available in the *Khulasat-us-Siyaq* which indicates that *nasaq* in the form of group assessment was the general practice in the closing years of Aurangzeb.[5]

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1. *Farhang-i-Kardani* ff.32-33
2. *Nigar Nama-i-Munshi* ff.129-131
3. *Mawazinah-dah-salah*: also known as *taqsim* was maintained by the Qanungo. It was a consolidated statement of the agrarian conditions obtaining in a pargana for the last ten years, showing the number of villages, the area of arable land, land under cultivation, waste, forest, gardens, pools, nullah and the area of *maded maash* land; various crops sown in *rabi* and *kharif* with current prices of every article; *jama* figures, rates of assessments, and particular of receipts and arrears. (vide *Dastur-ul-Amal-Alamgiri* f.41.a; Land Revenue History of Bengal p.165 *Diwan Pasand* f.77).
4. *Farhang-i-Kardani* f.32 b; for a fuller discussion see appendix A.
5. *Khulasat-us-Siyaq* f.23 b.

Other methods of assessment which find a place in our authorities[1] were zabt or measurement, kankut and ghallah-bakhshi or sharing.[2] In addition to these Farhang-i-Kardani takes note of some minor and comparatively little known methods of assessment known as hast-o-bud, polah bandi[3] and khara bandi.[4] The text contains many lacunae and it is not possible to describe these methods of assessment with any amount of certainty. Thus the important methods of assessments were nasaq, zabt, kankut, and ghallah-bakhshi. However, the relative importance of the various methods of assessment had undergone some change.

Any examination of the evidence contained in the farman to Raskikdas, the Farhang-i-Kardani and in the Khulasat-us-Siyaq reveals a very significant fact for the student of land revenue administration under the Mughals. We learn that zabt was replaced by nasaq as the general practice in assessing the majority of villages. We can infer from the Ain that zabt constituted the most important method of assessment under Akbar in the five provinces of Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Awadh and in parts of Bihar, Malwa and Ajmer, and that his preference for it was quite pronounced. In the second half of the 17th century, however, nasaq had become the general practice

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1. Nigar-Nama-i-Munshi ff.129-131; Farhang-i-Kardani f.32 b; Khulasat-us-Siyaq ff.21.b-22.a
2. zabt or measurement involved measurement of land under cultivation and application of cash rates on the area under cultivation; in kankut the assessment was made on an estimate of the expected produce calculated on the basis of the area of land under cultivation; ghallah-bakhshi signified sharing of the crops or grain.
3. The text can be read as polah-bandi or lolah-bandi.
4. Farhang-i-Kardani f.32 b.

and *zabt* occupied only the second position. Next came the *kankut* and *ghallah bakhshi* was the fourth alternative. It is also significant that under Aurangzeb the *nasaq* arrangements were generally made with the Muqaddams or *zamindars*. Akbar had, as recorded in the *Ain*, issued definite orders not to make *nasaq* with the headmen of the village. But in the second half of the century the practice was well-established. What is even more significant was the practice to make arrangements with the Muqaddams even in the areas where *zabt* obtained. Thus the intermediary in one form or another had established himself in the larger parts of the Empire. The assessment might or might not be made on individual peasants but the collection was invariably made through the Muqaddam or the *zamindar*. It was he who undertook to pay the assessed *jama* for a village or a pargana. The new practice in nasaq areas indicates that the government levied tax on land and not on produce as was done in the reign of Akbar.It also denoted the weakening of the administrative machinery and it was clear that the intermediary helped by the political and administrative conditions that obtained, had emerged with a position of more power and stability. We can safely presume that the agrarian conditions made it impossible for the government officers to collect money directly from the peasants. It appears that the cultivators were unable to pay the assessed *jama*, which had probably increased and the majority of them were found defaulters who preferred to leave their village than pay the assessed *jama*. Such cultivators, who chose to leave their villages, found land and shelter in the nearby *zamindari* areas. Moreover, we know definitely that the

conditions in a _zamindari_ area were better for cultivators than in the areas administered by the government officers.[1] Under such conditions the local officers had no option but to make arrangements with an intermediary Muqaddam, _zamindar_ or Chaudhari, who knew and understood the conditions of peasants and could exercise his local influence to persuade or coerce them to pay the assessed _jama_. The lump sum assessment of a village or pargana gave him some margin to lessen the tax pressure on the peasants and also to gain something for his own exertions, apart from the commission on collection allowed by the government. It was this margin or _gunjaish_ which enabled him to serve the interests of the state and the peasants alike. At the same time he enjoyed a better economic position than his predecessor under Akbar or Jahangir.

Share of the State: The State demand, under Akbar, as we have noted, was fixed at one-third of the gross produce. This demand was the maximum and was collected from the land known as _polaj_ and _parauti_ while reduced rates were applied in the case of less fertile land _chachar_ and _banjar_. However, it appears that by the time of Aurangzeb the maximum had risen to one half of the gross produce. We cannot say precisely when the increase in the State demand occurred. But the evidence contained in the Nigar Nama-i-Munshi,[2] the _Khulasat-us-Siyaq_ [3] and the _Mirat Ahmadi_[4] clearly indicate that during Aurangzeb's

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1. _Alamgir Nama_ pp.781, 782
2. Nigar-Nama-i-Munshi pp.929, 142^b
3. _Khulasat-us-Siyaq_ pp.17^b-18^a
4. _Mirat-i-Ahmadi_ pp.270

reign the maximum had risen to one half of the gross produce. The orders say that the collection officers should not realise more than half of the gross produce. The inference is that in actual practice even more than one half of the produce might have been realised before this ceiling was fixed. At the same time the officers were advised to collect even less than half of the produce in case the agricultural conditions in a particular area justified it. They were instructed to assess the land revenue in keeping with the capacity of the peasants to pay so that they might not be ruined and uprooted. The assessment officers were advised to exercise their discretionary power to increase or reduce the revenue demand provided it did not exceed one half of the gross produce.

Ijarah: This reign also saw the practice of ijarah or revenue-farming becoming wide-spread and on a scale, perhaps unknown to the earlier reigns. It is difficult to say when the system was introduced but we know that certain mahals in Bengal were obtained by the Portuguese on ijarah in the reign of Shahjahan.[1] However, no generalisation can safely be made on the basis of such meagre evidence as is available to us. During the reign of Aurangzeb the practice seems to have become quite wide-spread and khalsa lands were leased out on ijarah. The Farhang-i-Kardani contains the form of a qubuliat or deed of agreement for obtaining a pargana in ijarah against the payment of a stipulated sum.[2] Again we hear Rani Hadi, the widow of Raja Jaswant Singh, imploring for grant of paragana Jodhpur in lieu of Swajah and

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1. Amal Swaleh I p.496
2. Farhang-i-Kardani f.34

and Jatiyaran or to lease out the said pargana in ijarah which could be duly assessed by the Diwan.[1] We learn elsewhere that a large number of parganas were taken on Ijarah by Diwan Sanjar Khan and Dilawar Khan in Awadh for a period of 12 years or more.[2] A document dated 1084 Fasli records the lease and acceptance of 32 bighas, 8 biswas of land in village Khaswa, pargana Hisampur, Sarkar Bahraich against an annual jama of thirty two rupees eight annas to be remitted to the khalsa treasury regularly.[3] The farman to Rasikdas Karori enjoins the local officers to prepare a complete list of the mustajirs[4] and and mazar'as[5] in each village[6].

A critical analysis of the foregoing evidence should throw considerable light on the nature and extent of the practice of ijarah under Aurangzeb. The practice seems to have been very widespread; the State had recognised the practice as lawful.and khalsa land was given in ijarah to petty as well as big ijarahdars. The holdings obtained in ijarah rights could be held for more than ten years. The practice can be regarded as a long term assessment on land and the agreement for collection of land revenue was made with an intermediary who was known as ijarahdar. This type of intermediary held the land for a fixed period on contract against a stipulated amount but he could not claim any heridiary rights in the land as his

1. Waqai Sarkar Ajmer p.95
2. Makhzan-i-Akhbar ff.18,19
3. Allahabad Document No.177
4. Revenue-farmers
5. Peasants
6. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi ff.32,33

counterparts, the Muqaddam and zamindar, were allowed to enjoy. The ijarahdars could be classified under a number of grades according to the extent of the land held by them which ranged from a few bighas of land to a village, a pargana or a more than one pargana. In fact ijarah could be regarded as a variant of nasaq in an accentuated form. As in nasaq, the assessment was made on land and the land revenue was collected through an intermediary. But there was an important difference between nasaq and ijarah. Whereas the former entitled an annual assessment, the latter could be made for a longer period. The ijarahdar had greater and ampler opportunity than the zamindar to exploit the land and the peasants to amass wealth for himself. Again he had no permanent roots in the soil and as such he was inclined to exploit the peasantry to the point of cruelty or callousness. In fact the inference is borne out by the evidence contained in documents belonging to a somewhat later period.[1] Thus the new class of intermediary, most probably belonging to the class of rich merchants and business men, appeared in the role of parasite, ever keen to exploit the land and the peasantry for their own economic prosperity but quite indifferent to the interests of the peasantry and the State alike. The emergence of the new class contributed still further to the deepening crisis in the land revenue administration. It squeezed the peasantry and defrauded the State.

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1. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas ff. 51, 52.

Khalsa and Jagir: The division of the Empire into khalsa and jagir lands continued. The jama figures for khalsa lands under the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb for two unspecified years in each reign are available in the Zawabit-i-Alamgiri. For Shahjahan's reigns they are given as 1,34, 46, 60, 245 dams and 1,25,76,60, 245, dams.[1] The figures indicate that area of khalsa lands under the two emperors remained more or less the same.

Jagir: Although jagir lands still formed the major portion of the imperial territories, nevertheless, there were indications of a definite change in the nature and character of the assignment system. The system was evolved, as we know, to restrict the powers and pretensions of an heriditary landed aristocracy and to provide the State with an imperial military service. In the land revenue administration the jagirdars occupied the position of intermediaries with no permanent claim to land. Moreover, the bulk of the State revenue was collected by them, thus relieving the State from an administrative burden which under the given conditions of the times, was too heavy even for the Revenue Ministry of Akbar, remarkable for its brilliant record of efficiency and bold experiments. By the end of Aurangzeb's reign the system seems to have lost much of its purpose. We have no record enabling us to trace the gradual change from the beginning of the reign but a passage in Khafi Khan's Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, recording the events for the year 1102 A.H. 1690-91 A.D.

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1. Zawabit-i-Alamgiri f.81.a

describes the cumulative effect of the changes that had been gradually taking place during the long reign of Aurangzeb.[1] The system, as it has been described by Khafi Khan, failed to provide an efficient and well organised imperial military service. The *mansabdars* were disgruntled and were reduced, at least in a majority of cases, to misery and poverty. The system could no longer feed the huge class of *mansabdars*; it, nevertheless, pretended to meet the demands of the ever increasing numbers on paper by manipulating *jama* figures. The vast gap between the actual income and the fictitious *jama* figures, after the death of Aurangzeb, created conditions in which the heriditary claim on land or claim based on force or local influence was reasserted. Thus the system virtually ceased to fulfil its original function and merged into or was replaced by new forms which crystallised into accepted practices in the course of the 18th century.

The passage referred to above contains extremely important information about the developments in the working of the *jagirdari* system and as such it deserves to be quoted at length. "As audit of the accounts," says Khafi Khan, "formerly used to show amounts due from the mansabdars in favour of the royal treasury, therefore, it was the practice to appoint mace-bearers to get the *mansabdars* forward their accounts for auditing purposes and the *mansabdars* spent large sums to evade the process of audit. Later on, on account

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1. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* II pp.396, 397, 411, 412

of the scarcity of available jagirs for assignment and increase in the numbers of mansabdars, especially the hordes of the Marathas and the Deccanis, who were given high mansabs, the persons belonging to the old families of royal servants (khanah zadan) often could not get jagirs for four or five years. After the appointment of Musawi Khan as the Diwan-i-Tan, it was laid down that newly appointed mansabdars should sign an agreement to the effect that they were not entitled to demand the salary for the intervening period between the preparation of yaddasht[1] and the assignment of jagirs. However, once the jagir was assigned and later on it was resumed, the salary claim for the intervening period between the resumption of the assigned jagir and the assignment of a new jagir (elsewhere) would be entertained in audit. In order to compensate the bad reputation earned by Musawi Khan for this innovation it was laid down, at his request, in contravention of the former regulation-- requiring that a newly recruited servant should, after the receipt of verification certificate, be assigned a post in the army-- that a newly recruited servant should not be assigned any charge, save when he himself chose to do so. Inspite of the undertaking (given by mansabdars) for foregoing their claims for salary in the initial period, when the audit was undertaken large amounts were revealed which the State owed to

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1. Yaddasht: an extract from the waqi'a or record of events relating to the grant of a particular mansab to a candidate in accordance with the certificates issued by the office of the Bakhshi.
(Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign Introduction X)

the mansabdars. Consequently although the mansabdars did everything to put up their papers for audit, the auditors of the Revenue Ministry, turned a deaf ear to them, and did not audit the accounts of the jagirdars. Even when the mansabdars had succeeded in establishing their claims by their constant endeavours-- having obtained a patron, employing an able and concientious agent, after running about seven and eight months and spending a large amount- they could get only 1/4th of their total claims, inspite of all their best efforts and endeavours, from the royal treasury. At last all rules and regulations were, by and by, thrown into confusion and the practice of audit was given up."[1]

The passage summarised above gives a clear insight into the conditions that obtained in the assignment system in the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign. The extraordinary increase in the number of mansabdars had its natural repurcussions on the land revenue administration. The mansabdari system, useful in its own way in the early period of the Mughal Empire, had revealed its inherent contradictions and weaknesses by the close of 17th century. The Mughal nobility, at first quite modest in numbers, had become a huge class, depending entirely on the revenues from the land. To it was added the Deccani and the Maratha aristocracy. The cultivable land, inspite of the vastiness of the Empire, could not feed the ever-increasing class of mansabdars. The crisis in the jagirdari system

1. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab II pp. 396, 397

appeared under Aurangzeb when the number of those seeking *mansabs* and *jagirs* was very large and the available *jagirs* for assignment were very few. As a matter of fact we are told by Khafi Khan elsewhere that in A.H.1691-92 A.D., the Emperor solemnly declared that he could provide no *jagirs* for new comers and therefore it should be made known that no fresh recruitments would be made.[1]

This changed situation in the practice of audit clearly suggests that the Revenue Ministry, in order to meet the demands of the ever increasing *mansabdars*, had been having recourse to the old device of assigning *jagirs* with inflated *jama*. The nobles and the *mansabdars*, once afraid of the rigour of auditing process, now demanded that audit should be done, and it was Revenue Ministry, which in order to conceal the manipulation in *jama* figures, shrank from the demand of the nobles and the *mansabdars*. Obviously the situation indicates the inherent weakness of the *jagirdari* and *mansabdari* system but it also reveals the utter inability of the Revenue Ministry to face the situation boldly and take necessary measures to improve the worsening condition leading to grave political and administrative difficulties. The situation as it developed was tacitly accepted and was even given legal recognition. The old disease of ever-recurring inflated *jama* revealed itself in the most glaring form. No minister in the long reign of Aurangzeb gave thought to the problem in a realistic way. Perhaps the disease had developed beyond remedy, and there was

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1. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* II pp. 411, 412

practically left no chance of making a more realistic valuation. We may assume that it was in sheer desperation that the practice of audit was given up. Thus the passage under reference actually records the administrative crisis with which the Mughal Empire was beset. The story of the agrarian system for the next fifty years is the story of gradual collapse of the institutions introduced and perfected by Akbar and his immediate successors.

That the condition of the jagirdars was wretched and miserable has been specifically described in another passage[1] in the Muntakhab-ul-Lubab dealing with the collection of dues for maintaining royal animals. We are told that the mansabdars were reduced to utmost poverty on account of the scarcity of jagirs available for assignment. Even if they were assigned a portion of their assignments the jagirs were found to be deserted and the entire income from the jagirs could not meet half of the expenses incurred in maintaining the royal animals. The agents of the mansabdars were arrested and the total demand for maintaining the royal animals was made from them. The agents would lodge complaint with the Emperor but the influence of the officers at the court would make the complaint ineffective. A large number of people, we are told, were put to great distress and the agents resigned from their posts. The general statement made in the Muntakhab-ul-Lubab is supported by stray references about the condition of jagirdars in the Waqa-i-Sarkar

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1. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab pp. 602-603

Ajmer.[1] We learn that even a jagirdar serving as the Faujdar of the province of Ajmer failed to make satisfactory collections and was not able to pay the salary of the soldiers serving under him. His financial position, at a certain stage, became so precarious that he had to disband a large number of troopers under him.

Control of the Emperor on Jagir lands

To conclude we can piece together the evidence indicating the nature and extent of the control exercised by the Emperor over the jagir lands. It appears that all the important regulations were binding upon the jagirdars and the provincial Diwan saw to it that the content of the regulations was communicated to the jagirdars or their gumashtas.[2] The farmans also included the jagirdars among the persons and officials who were enjoined to execute the imperial regulations.[3] The provincial Bakhshi saw to it that the jagirdars maintained the requisite number of horsemen according to their mansabs. A mansabdar,according to the regulations could not start collections in the jagir assigned to him unless he brought the fixed number of horsemen to muster.[4] A jagirdar, apart from rendering military service to the State, was also accountable for the conditions of law and order within his jagir. He was accountable for acts of theft and robbery and for tracing theives.[5]

Administrative Machinery.

The land revenue administration in a province was carried

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1. Waqa-i-Sarkar Ajmer, pp. 88-89
2. Selected Waqa-i- of the Deccan, p.46
3. Mirat-i-Ahmadi I, pp. 171, 172
4. Waqa-i-Sarkar Ajmer pp. 8, 9
5. Waqa-i-Sarkar Ajmer pp. 25, 26

on by a Diwan and an Amin. Generally the two offices were held by the same persons. Below them, in every pargana, there were the Amil, pargana Amin, Khazanadar, Qanungo and Chaudhari. Some times the offices of the Amin and the Amil or the Amin and the Faujdar were held by the same person. Similarly a Faujdar could hold the office of the Amil as well.[1]

Amil or Karori

The functions and duties of the Karori are described in the Farhang-i-Kardani and the Khulasat-us-Siyaq. He collected the land revenue within the specified period on the basis of tumar-i-jamabandi[2] prepared by the Amin and remitted the amount to the treasury. He locked the treasury under his own seal and that of the Amin and watched over it with utmost care. He was not entitled to spend a single dam without the prior sanction of the Revenue Ministry. He received a commission on the collections made on behalf of the government. At the end of the year he settled the accounts with the Chaudharis, Qanungos and Muqaddams against their respective perquisites known as nankar,[3] rusum,[4] and inam,[5] provided the entire

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1. Mirat-i-Ahmadi I pp. 291, 292, 330, 334
   Nigar Nama-i-Munshi ff. 79, 80, 87, 89, 93, 94
2. Rent-roll
3. Literally subsistence allowance; grant of rent-free land to zamindars and Chaudharis for services rendered to the State. Other receipients of nankar grant were Qanungos, Muqaddams and Qazis
4. Customary rights; Qanungo's commission of 2% from the share of ryots; a commission of 2% or 2½% on the rent-roll to be paid to to the Qanungo.
5. Grant of rent-free land, whether made by the ruling power or by individuals; the inam, of the Muqaddam appears to be a local arrangement.

collections had been made in the pargana. He was responsible for weekly despatch of the detailed account of receipts to the Revenue Ministry. At the end of every season he sent the papers showing the details of jama, receipts and arrears against every village. He was also required to submit an annual abstract of the total income and expenditure. According to the Khulasat-us-Siyaq he was required to see that the total area as entered in the nasaq agreement was brought under cultivation and no decrease in the area under cultivation was to be allowed. He appointed a Tappahdar[1] in every tappah[2] who was to stay in the tappah and keep himself fully informed about every village and every cultivator so that no arable land in any village might be left fallow and the cultivator did not leave his village. He was required to request the Amin to grant taqavi[3] loan to poor and needy cultivators who could not till the land for lack of necessary resources, namely oxen and seeds. When the crops were ripe he appointed some persons for keeping watch over them so that the cultivators did not evade the payment of land revenue for the current year and the arrears against them. He was required to see that no cesses remitted by the Emperor were collected. He had to maintain some twelve registers furnishing all necessary information about local land revenue administration.[4]

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1. The officer who supervised the revenue affairs of a tappah.
2. A small tract or division of a country, smaller than a pargana but comprising one or more villages.
3. Loan granted for agricultural purposes.
4. Khulasat-us-Siyaq ff. 26, 27.

The Amin.

According to the Khulasat-us-Siyaq the Amin was the adjudicator between the king and the ryots. He was required to see that the State dues were not left unrealised with the ryots and that no injustice and oppression was committed against them so that half of the produce was realised by the State and the other half was appropriated by the ryots and no land was permitted to be appropriated by the ryots or those who had occupied land without a legal claim.[1] He compared the assessment papers for the last ten years, inspected each field under cultivation and assessed the jama within the specified time. When the assessment for the entire pargana had been completed he prepared the tumar-i-jama-bandi, bearing the signatures of the Chaudharis, Qanungos and the Qazi. He also obtained an undertaking for the total collection from the Karori.[2] The Amin, however, was vested with the discretionary power to accede to the request of the ryots and assess on the basis of zabt, ghallabakhshi or kankut[3]. The Amin issued lease-deed to the ryots and obtained a written agreement on their behalf. He maintained some sixteen registers furnishing complete information about the agrarian conditions in the pargana.[4]

The Khazanadar:

The treasurer was known as Khazanadar or Fotahdar. He was

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1. Khulasat-us-Siyaq ff. 17, 18
2. Farhang-i-Kardani f.29
3. Khulasat-us-Siyaq ff.17,18,19
4. Khulasat-us-Siyaq ff. 17,18

responsible for the safe custody of cash receipts under proper authority. All cash collected by the Amil or his agents was to be deposited with him. However, he could make no disbursement without proper authority.[1]

The Qanungo:

The office of the Qanungo seems to be an administrative legacy from the remote past. He had always been a very important functionary in the revenue administration. The chronicles contain no explicit evidence as to the territorial jurisdiction of the said officer, which underwent constant changes and modifications under the Mughals. In Akbar's reign he seems to have been a pargana officer.[2] But in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi there is evidence to show that he was a revenue officer of a circle of a parganah. A pargana was divided into a number of circles and each circle was placed under a Qanungo. The content of an order of Aurangzeb, incorporated in the Mirat, shows that the Emperor reduced the number of Qanungos in a pargana which was not to exceed ten.[3] The inference is that during the reign of Shahjahan the number of Qanungos had increased without any relation to the increase in the amount of work. Aurangzeb took necessary steps to keep a proper proportion between the amount of work and the number of officials employed by the State.

Functions and duties:

The Qanungo was consulted about ascertaining the revenue

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1. Khulasat-us-Siyaq ff. 18, 19, p.29
2. Ain-i-Akbari I p.209
3. Mirat-i-Ahmadi I, p.263; cf. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi ff.104,105

customs, usages, and perquisites of the area under his jurisdiction. He kept the same revenue papers as the Patwari of the village, and also the papers stating the village revenues in money and in kind.[1] In the Farhang-i-Kardani we are told that he together with the Chaudhari and the Muqaddam signed a qabuliat[2] to the effect that they accepted the assessment made by the Amin and stood surety for the payment of the same by the ryots. He was entitled to certain commission provided the full rental had been realised. He put his signatures on the tumar-i-jamabandi prepared by the Amin which was to be sent to the imperial office.[3]

The Chaudhari:

Besides, the regular staff of the revenue administration the State secured the services of a number of semi-officials such as Muqaddams, and Chaudharis. A passage in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi throws some light on the territorial jurisdiction of a Chaudhari. The pasaage under reference is the content of an order issued by Aurangzeb, which lays down that the number of Chaudharis in a pargana should not exceed two. An examination of the relevant passage in the Farhang-i-Kardani throws considerable light on the function and duties of the Chaudhari. His primary and foremost duty was to assist the revenue officers in the work of revenue collection. He did so by exercising his personal and local influence on his community. He

1. Ain-i-Akbari I p.200
2. A written agreement, especially one signifying assent as the counterpart of a revenue lease.
3. Farhang-i-Kardani f. 34

stood surety for individual cultivators and saw that revenue demands were paid to the Karori. Moreover, he put his signatures to the tumar-i-jamabandi prepared by the Amin. In recognition of his services rendered to the State he was entitled to nankar perquisites.[1]

Muqaddam

Literally it means the first man. In the chronicles it denotes the first man of the village. His duties were similar to those of the Chaudhari. He put his signatures to certain papers prepared by the Amin and other officials, stood surety for individual cultivators and assisted the government agents in the work of revenue collection. For his services rendered to the State he was entitled to inam in accordance with the established custom.[2]

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1. Farhang-i-Kardani, f.34
2. Farhang-i-Kardani ff.29, 34

CHAPTER II

KHALSA LANDS

The bulk of the imperial territory consisted of mahals and parganas which were assigned to mansabdars in lieu of their salaries for services rendered to the State. The remaining of the mahals and parganas, in almost all the provinces, were ear-marked as khalsa or khalsa sharifah and the income, therefrom, was remitted into the imperial treasuries. It appears that a distinction was made between the sources of income for the personal expenses of the Emperor and the sources of income claimed for the imperial public treasury. The parganas or mahals which were reserved for the personal expenses of Emperor were known as sarf-i-khas. Such parganas were put in charge of separate officials and the income from these mahals was deposited into a separate treasury.[1] The income from khalsa lands of a mahal or pargana was deposited into the local treasury and after meeting the expenses of local administration the balance was remitted to the imperial treasury of the provincial headquarters;[2] or it might be remitted and disbursed in a way as directed by the Revenue Ministry. Stray references suggest that the parganas earmarked as khalsa were well cultivated and the collections of assessed land revenue was fairly satisfactory.[3]

Extent of Khalsa lands

The area of khalsa lands under the Mughals fluctuated from

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1. Mirat-ul-Istilah f.15 a
2. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi p.140
3. Waqa-i-Ajmer p.65

time to time and reign to reign. The increase or decrease in the area of khalsa lands was affected by developments in the jagirdari system, the character of the Emperors, or lack of interest in the details of administration and by the requirements of a given situation. Our authorities do not give the jama figures of khalsa lands under Akbar but it appears that after the 15th regnal year the administration of khalsa lands was put on a sound footing and the parganas and mahals earmarked as khalsa provided enough income to maintain a rich imperial treasury.[1] Jahangir, it appears, neglected the revenue administration and his officers were corrupt and fraudulent. Consequently agriculture received a set back and the income from the khalsa lands fell to 50 lacs of rupees and large amounts were drawn from the reserves accumulated by Akbar. Shahjahan, on his accession, gave his attention to the affairs of the khalsa administration and mahals valued at a jama of 150 lacs of rupees were earmarked as khalsa.[2] Gradually the income of the khalsa lands increased and at

1. Akbar Nama II, p. 333. The influence is substantially corroborated by evidence contained in the Ma'asir-ul-Umara. A passage in the Maasir gives a sketch of the financial history of the Mughal Empire and says that under Akbar due to the rapid expansion of the Empire the expenditure increased but the income also increased enormously and great accumulations were made. Maasir-ul-Umara, II, p.814.

2. Maasir-ul-Umara II, p.814; an incidental inference in Badshah Nama reveals that in the 4th regnal year the jama of khalsa lands had increased to 80 karor dams or 2 karors of rupees. The khalsa lands during this period comprised 1/11th of the imperial territory.

the end of 20th regnal year out of a total jama of 880 karors of dams 120 karors of dams or three karors of rupees were earmarked as khalsa.[1] At the end of the reign, the jama of khalsa lands stood at near about four karors of rupees.[2] In the thirteenth regnal year of Aurangzeb the jama of khalsa lands was fixed at 4 karors of rupees.[3] Thus the extent of the khalsa lands considerably increased under Shahjahan and it remained more or less the same under Aurangzeb.[4]

After the death of Aurangzeb, it appears, the process was reversed and the area of khalsa lands began to decrease. The process continued unabated and by the time of Muhammad Shah's accession the bulk of ~~all~~ the khalsa mahals had been assigned to the nobles. This state of affairs distressed Nizam-ul-Mulk when he examined the revenue records after his appointment as Wazir. He also noted an extra-ordinary increase in the ranks of mansabdars and award of mansabs to those who were hardly qualified for ~~even~~ holding even small ranks of a few hundred.[5] The two facts noted by Nizam-ul-Mulk were not isolated and, in fact, provide the clue to explain the unusual development in the land revenue administration. Our authorities for the

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1. Badshah Nama, II, p. 711, 712 Maasir-ul-Umara, II, p.815
2. Maasir-ul-Umara, II, p. 814,815
3. Ibid II p.813
4. The jama figures for two unspecified years in each of the reigns are given in the Zawabit-i-Alamgiri (f.81 ab)

Shahjahan:	(a)	1,34,46,70,245	dams
	(b)	1,25,76,60,647	dams
Aurangzeb	(a)	1,31,35,61,364	dams
	(b)	1,24,54,64,650	dams

5. Ahwal-ul-Khawaqin f. 182; Shah Nama-i-Munawwar-ul-Kalam f.86a

reigns of Bahadur Shah and Farrukh Siyyar record an unparallelled and unprecedented increase in the *mansabs* and lavish award of *mansabs* to the new classes who clamoured for *mansabs* and *jagirs*. The Deccanis and the Marathas had already swelled the number of *mansabdars* in the last two decades of Aurangzeb's reign and it had become difficult to provide *jagirs* to fresh recruits as late as 1691 A.D. But the recruitments could not be stopped in the reign of Aurangzeb[1]. On the accession of Bahadur Shah *mansabs* were awarded and increase in ranks was granted without any reference to the qualifications and merits of the grantee or any regard to the rules and regulations laid down for award of *mansabs* or increase in the *mansabs*. Neither was any heed paid to the unusual development in the *jagirdari* system so that in the first year of the reign a large number of *amirs* could not be provided with *jagirs* for the *mansabs* held by them. Consequently, the *mansabs* in a majority of cases became more or less nominal. It is probable that under such conditions a deviation was made and the practice of making assignment on *mahals* earmarked as *khalsa* was introduced. We know that a crisis in the *jagirdari* and *mansabdari* system, caused by lavish increase in *mansabs*, in the reign of Jahangir had resulted in a considerable decrease in the area of *khalsa* lands. The conditions in the reign of Bahadur Shah were so acute that there was no alternative for meeting the crisis except by making assignment on *khalsa mahals* and thus decrease the area of *khalsa lands*. The practice of making such assignments, it appears, assumed

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1. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab II, pp 413, 414

larger proportion in the reign of Farrukh Siyyar. The political development in the country, the various parties scrambling for power the policy of timid appeasement followed by the Emperor, the inclusion of new classes- the Kashmiris, the Hindus and the Khwaja saras- who obtained high *mansabs* and rich *jagirs* at the cost of other sections - in the rank of *mansabdars* accentuated the crisis still further. It appears that under pressure of the powerful class of *mansabdars* the puppet Emperor virtually surrendered the right of State to the *mansabdars* and within a few years, almost the entire *khalsa* land passed into their hands. Thus the main cause of the decrease in the area of *khalsa* lands and its ultimate extinction can be traced back to the crisis in the *mansabdari* and *jagirdari* system. To it may be added such factors as the weak character of the emperors, the party politics at the court, and neglect of the State business by those who were entrusted with the office of the Wizarat.

II

The Administrative Machinery

While Akbar made ceaseless efforts to improve the methods of assessment and collection he also paid an equal attention to the creation and development of a suitable administrative machinery which could ensure the smooth working of the land revenue administration. The re-organisation of the provinces on a more scientific basis, the creation of *wizarat* or the Revenue Ministry, as a distinct ministry independent of the Wakil and the creation of the office of the provincial Diwan as the direct representative of the *Wazir* may be taken as the unique contribution of Akbar to the land revenue administra-

tion. The administrative machinery evolved under Akbar and perfected under his two immediate successors continued to function till the middle of the 18th century with a few changes and modifications which did not affect the structure of administrative machinery to any appreciable extent.

The Wazir or Diwan-i-Ala:

Under the Mughals the highest authority in the land revenue administration was vested in the Diwan-i-Kul or Wazir who was also known as Diwan-Ala.[1] The origin of the office of the Diwan-i-Kul can be traced back to the 8th year of Akbar's reign when Muzaffar Khan was appointed as the Diwan-i-Kul or Wazir. The reigns of Akbar and Jahangir may be regarded as the period of experiments and evolution. However, by the reign of Shahjahan the evolution of wizarat had become complete and the Revenue Ministry was divided into a number of departments under the over all control and supervision of the Diwan-i-Kul or Wazir. The business in the Revenue Ministry was transacted

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1. Discussing the significance of the term Diwan late Mr.Ibn-i-Hasan says "Under Mughals its use is more definite and is limited to the head of the revenue and finance. Under Akbar the word wazir is sparingly used for the office and the use of diwan is more frequent. Under Jahangir the order is just the reverse, and the term wazir is more or less maintained, while under Shahjahan the word becomes more exact. The wazir is termed Diwan-i-Kul (the chief diwan), and his colleagues in the department are called diwans." Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, page 148.

in conformity with well-defined and elaborate regulations. The origin and development of the Revenue Ministry and its internal working can be studied in detail, in the valuable work, "The Central Structure under the Mughals" by late Mr.Ibn-i-Hasan. Here it sufficient to note the main functions and duties of the Wazir or Diwan Ala and his relationship with the two subordinate Diwans, namely the Diwan Khalsa and Diwan Tan.

Under Shahjahan, the Revenue Ministry was divided into a number of subordinate departments headed by Diwan Khalsa, Diwan-i-Tan, Munshrif and Mustaufi. Each of these departments had their own establishments and a fairly large number of staff served in these departments The head of the Revenue Ministry, known as Wazir or Diwan-i-Ala, combined in himself the position of the executive head of the State, the head of the revenue department and the post of the finance minister. As the head of the Revenue Department he was responsible for the administration of the jagir and khalsa lands and had control over the officers of the state and over those who held mansabs and jagirs. As the executive head of the State his power and jurisdiction extended over the provincial officers from the Subahdars to Amils and Patwaris. As a Finance Minister he kept watch over all the money which entered the public treasury. Thus he was in touch with all the three important departments of the Central Government besides his own, and it was the general supervision which gave him the first position among the

ministers of the State.[1]

All the important appointments were made through him and these appointees included Subahdars, Faujdars, Karories, Amins, Mushrifs, Khazanchis and zamindars. It appears that all the important papers passed through him and some of them were disposed off even without any reference to the Emperor. His office kept a record of all revenue and financial statements. The provincial Diwans, Amins, Karoris and treasury officers of the Empire regularly submitted certain papers to his office. Copies of all royal orders were received by his office, and forwarded to the offices of the Bakhshis and Khansaman.[2]

The Diwan-i-Khalsa and Diwan-i-Tan were the Wazirs subordinates and not his colleagues. It appears that the Diwan-i-Khalsa occupied a higher position than the Diwan-i-Tan. All the papers relating to the khalsa lands passed through him. Moreover, he also enjoyed a supervisory authority over all matters which exclusively came under the jurisdiction of the Revenue Ministry. Papers dealing with such matters passed through him and in most cases he only wrote "mulahizah shud" (seen), which indicates that he had little discretion or power of action in such matters. Similarly, all papers relating to assignments and cash salaries to mansabdars passed through the

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1. Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, pp. 204-207; Cf. Dastur-ul-Amal Alamgiri ff. 172a-176a; Farhang-i-Kardani ff. 27, 28; Zawabit-i-Alamgiri ff.31 b-37a.

2. Central Structure of the Mughal Empire pp. 204-209.

Diwan-i-Tan.[1] The Mushrif (accountant) and the Mustaufi (auditor) occupied a lower position to the Wazir.[2]

The Diwan-i-Subah:

We have noted in the above lines that the creation of the office of the provincial Diwan as a direct representative of the Revenue Ministry was the work of Akbar. We are told in Akbar Nama that a provincial Diwan, along with other officers, was appointed in every province in the 24th year of the reign.[3] By the 40th year of the reign it was a well-established practice and it was in this year that his power and position was increased and he became independent of the Subahdar. He was directly responsible to the Emperor through the Diwan-i-Ala and submitted his papers directly to the Wazir.[4] The relevant evidence reveals that his power and position remained the same in the 17th and in the first half of the 18th century.

Power and functions:

The Diwan-i-Subah was appointed by the Wazir by virtue of a hasab-ul-hukm and a parwanah.[5] A careful examination of the relevant evidence contained in the Khulasat-us-Siyaq and the Farhang-i-Kardani reveals that he occupied an important position in the provincial administration and his power and authority extended over the political and financial affairs of the province.[6] The

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1. Central Structure of the Mughal Empire pp. 208-209
2. Ibid pp.204-205
3. Akbar Nama III p.282
4. Akbar Nama pp.670; See also Central Structure of the Mughal Empire p.165
5. Farhang-i-Kardani f.28b
6. Ibid f.28 a; Nigar Nama-i-Munshi p.135

functions and duties of the Diwan-i-Subah are given in the *Nigar Nama-i-Munshi* and the *Farhang-i-Kardani*, while Khulasat-us-Siyaq contains a comprehensive list of the papers maintained by the Diwan-i-Subah which gives an idea about the range of his administrative jurisdiction. The Diwan-i-Subah, we are told, in *Nigar Nama-i-Munshi* was required to investigate into the cases pertaining to administrative and financial affairs and amake all endeavours to reclaim and realise the State dues. At the same time he was expected to take necessary measures to increase the area under cultivation and bring prosperity to the pargana. Protection and supervision of the treasury was an important function of the office of the Diwan. He was required to see that no money was spent or appropriated without the proper sanction for its disbursement. He saw to it that the receipts for the money sent by the Fotahdars and remitted into the public treasury at the provincial headquarters, were duly handed over to the agents of the Fotahdars.

It appears that Amils of the parganas were placed under the supervision and control of the Diwan-i-Subah. He had to keep himself well informed about the acts and doings of Amils, so that none of them could be allowed to exact illegal cesses forbidden or remitted by the State. Moreover, he was required to ascertain the misappropriations made by the Amils on the basis of *Dahaz-i-Kham* or the village papers maintained by the Patwari showing every kind of realisation, and the misappropriations discovered against the Amils

were to be realised. If any Amil was found to be guilty of misappropriation or of other misdeeds, the Diwan was required to report the truth to the Emperor, so that such an Amil might be replaced by another.[1] Lastly, he had to maintain some thirty registers[2] in his office and submit[3] the nuskha-i-diwani[4] and other necessary papers[5] to the Revenue Ministry. An examination of the list of the papers

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1. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi pp. 134, 135
2. Khulasat-us-Siyaq ff. 16 ab.
3. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi p.135; Farhang-i-Kardani f.28 a.
4. Nuskh-i-diwani was another name for mujmalai or the consolidated statement of accounts prepared in the office of the Diwan which showed the details of the income and expenditure of the khalsa mahals. The balance, if any, was also noted. The statement was prepared on the basis of the accounts of income and expenditure submitted to the Diwan's office by the Fotahdars of the khalsa mahals (Khulasat-us-Siyaq f.35b).
5. The names of other papers forwarded to the Revenue Ministry are given in the Farhang-i-Kardani. They were tumars of jamabandi roznamch-i-tahsil, jama-o-kharch-i-Fotahdar, mujmal-i-paraganat (Farhang-i-Kardani, f.28 a).

    (a) tumar-i-jamabandi or tumar-i-jama was the rent roll prepared by the pargana Amin showing the total jama of the pargana under both the heads mal-o-jihat and Sair jihat together with details of the old,newly reclaimed and aima villages (Khulasat-us-Siyaq,f.21.b 23ab, 24 ab).

    (b) roznamcha-i-tahsil or the accounts of the daily receipts (Khulasat-us-Siyaq f. 28b)

    (c) jama-o-kharch-i-Fotahdar: the account of the income and expenditure maintained in the office of Fotahdar

    (d) mujmal-i-parganat or the mujmal of the parganas; the mujmal of a pargana was an abstract of the income and expenditure of the pargana. It was also known as jama-o-kharch-i-pargana (Khulasat-us-Siyaq f.29b)

maintained in the office of the Diwan-i-Subah, gives real insight into the extent of the supervisory authority exercised by the Diwan. It appears that his jurisdiction extended over all the branches of land revenue administration- provincial treasuries, khalsa, jagir, and madad maash lands and zamindaris subject to land revenue and paesh kash or fixed tribute alike. It appears that he exercised some control over the assignment of the mansabdars and over the cash salaries paid to the mansabdars and soldiers. All the papers relating to the confirmation and renewal of the madad maash lands were maintained in his office. He also kept a watch over the mints of the province and examined the papers relating to the State jails. All the officers serving in the khalsa mahals sent the copies of the records and accounts maintained in their offices and he issued necessary orders to them.[1] These inferences are corroborated by the evidence contained in the Riyaz-us-Salatin. We are told that the administration of political and financial affairs, the work of assessment and collection and the supervision of the income and expenditure pertaining to the public treasury was placed under the Diwan-i-Subah. He transacted the business of the provincial administration in accordance with the Dastur-ul-Amal issued every year by the Emperor.[2]

Diwan-i-Sarkar:

The office of the Diwan-i-Sarkar has so far received little

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1. Khulasat-us-Siyaq f.16b
2. Riyaz-us-Salatin pp. 244, 245

attention in the studies made in the revenue administration under Mughals. Some references in the chronicles and documents suggest that the chief revenue officer of the sarkar was known as Diwan. But according to Dr.Saran the Amal-Guzar was the chief revenue officer of the sarkar.[1] An examination of the relevant evidence, however, lends little support to the proposition made by Dr.Saran, and seems to suggest that the Amal-Guzar was an officer at the pargana level. We will examine the position and territorial jurisdiction of the Amil in greater detail a little later but for the present we can proceed to examine the relevant evidence which indicates that the chief revenue officer of the sarkar was known as Diwan. We read in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi that in the fifteenth regnal year of Aurangzeb an order was issued to Shams-uddin, the Diwan of Sarkar Islam Nagar, to the effect that he should assign some villages to the Raja of Nawa Nagar as jagir.[2] Another passage records the appointment of Roshan Zamir as the Diwan and Amin of Bandar Surat.[3] The same authority contains an order to the Diwan-i-Subah to the effect that he should instruct the Diwans and Amins of khalsa lands that they should put down their own signatures on the top and at the end of a letter addressed to the imperial court, so that the doubts regarding forgery might be removed.[4] An examination

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1. Provincial Government, Saran p.284
2. Mirat-i-Ahmadi I pp. 284,285
3. Ibid I p.234
4. Ibid I p.374

of the evidence, quoted above, brings out the following points:

1. There were subordinate Diwans under the Diwan-i-Subah
2. There was an officer in the sarkar known as Diwan who dealt with the revenue affairs such as assignment of jagirs.

The inference drawn from the evidence contained in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi is directly supported and confirmed by the evidence contained in the Nigar Nama-i-Munshi. It contains a letter of appointment issued to the Diwan of Sarkar Sambhal which reads that such a person had been appointed as the Diwan of Sarkar Sambhal.[1] We read elsewhere in the same authority about the appointment of a Diwan of a number of parganas in a chalka in the province of Allahabad.[2] In the Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas an appointment order indicates that a Diwan was appointed for a number of parganas.[3] These facts when read together with the evidence contained in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi lend strong support to our inference that the chief revenue officer at the sarkar level was known as Diwan. A careful examination of relevant evidence reveals that a number of subordinate Diwans served under the Diwan-i-Subah and that the jurisdiction of a subordinate Diwan extended over a sarkar or over a group of parganas.

Functions and Duties:

The functions and duties of the Diwan-i-Sarkar are given in the Nigar Nama-i-Munshi. His function was supervisory and he was

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1. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi f.121 b.
2. Ibid f.97
3. Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas f. 18

required to keep his eyes on the conduct and doings of the officers serving in the parganas under his jurisdiction. He was instructed to take proper measures to ensure that no government officer collected more than one half of the produce from the ryots. He was authorised to transfer an officer working under him provided a charge was established against him. He was required to see that Karoris and Fotahdars did not misappropriate any government dues. If the audit of the accounts revealed some misappropriation against an officer he had to be summoned by the Diwan and asked to submit an explanation for the alleged misappropriation. Moreover as a precautionary measure against the probable misappropriation on the part of the Amils the Diwan obtained an undertaking from the Qanungos and Chaudharis to the effect that they would report any act of misappropriation to the Diwan.[1]

Amil:

The Head of the land revenue administration in a pargana was the Amil or the Amal Guzar. He later on, came to be known as Karori. Dr.Saran's account of the pargana officers, however, lands us into a controversy as to the administrative jurisdiction of the Amal Guzar or the Amil. The account is not very clear and inferences have not been supported by evidence. As such his statements deserve to be quoted:

"The chief revenue officer of the sarkar was the Amal Guzar or Amil. He was assisted by a numerous staff of which the Bitikchi

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1. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi ff. 97; 121-123, Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas ff. 17,18

was the most important."[1]

Again we read in the next paragraph -

"In the pargana the Sihiqdar, the Amil and the Karkun and Fotahdar had continued from Sher Shah's time. While the main work of assessment and realisation was carried on by the Amil with the help of his Karkuns, and the rest of these staff and semi-official functionaries, the Qanungo, the Patwari and the headman, the Shiqdar also seems to have given him substantial help."[2]

An examination of the above account brings out the following points:

1. Amal Guzar also known as Amil was chief revenue officer of the sarkar
2. The main work of assessment and collection in a pargana was carried on by the Amil.

Thus we see that the account is not very clear and specific. It seems to suggest that the designation of the chief revenue officers in the pargana and the sarkar was the same, but they differed in their territorial jurisdiction and the pargana Amil may be regarded as a subordinate to the sarkar Amil. However, the pargana Amil is not included among the subordinate officers under the Amal Guzar or Amil of the sarkar who are given as Bitikchi, Karkun, Fotahdar or Khazanadar. Nevertheless, the main proposition put forward by Dr.Saran is quite obvious: that the Amil or the Amal

1. Provincial Government of the Mughals p.284
2. Ibid p.284

Guzar was the head of the land revenue administration in a sarkar.

Dr.Ishtiaq Husain Qureshy has examined the question in some detail in an article entitled "The Pargana Officials under Akbar".[1] He has identified the Amil with the Amal Guzar and shown that the Amal Guzar was the head of the pargana administration. His main arguments may be summed up as follows:-

1. The duties assigned to him show that he was connected directly with the peasants and headmen of the villages. Such an officer could not be the officer of such a large unit as sarkar.
2. He was the supervisor of the surveying staff. It seems impossible that there should be a unit of surveying staff for the entire sarkar, since the method of assessment demanded frequent and extensive measurement of land under cultivation.
3. He also supervised the working of the treasury and that the description of the treasury in the Ain shows that it was a pargana treasury.

The arguments advanced by Dr.Qureshi carry considerable weight. Nevertheless, they are based on indirect evidence. Fortunately even more definite and direct evidence is available on this point. The relevant evidence indicates clearly that the Amil or Karori was the head of the land revenue administration in the pargana. We read in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi that the Amil of pargana Dhaulqah complained against Sher Khan, the Faujdar of Sorath,

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1. Islamic Culture Vol. XVI, 1942, pp.87-99

since the latter had carried away cattles from the villages under the jurisdiction of the said Amil.[1] We are told that Abdur Rahman, the Karori of Pargana Patan Dev was transferred as the ryots made complaint against him.[2] In other sources also the Amil is described as the pargana officer. In the *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangir*, Muhammad Saeed is mentioned as the Amil of pargana Jalandhar.[3] We hear about the appointment of a Karori in pargana Jalor.[4] We are told in the *Nigar Nama-i-Munshi* that the Muhammad Hashim the Amin and the Karori of pargana Darwan was removed from his office.[5] In the *Farhang-i-Kardani* the Karori is explicity described as a pargana officer and his functions and duties are enumerated.[6] Thus we see that the Amil or the Amal Guzar was the head of the pargana administration. The inference is also corroborated by the evidence contained in the *Khulasat-us-Siyaq* which traces the changes in the functions and duties of the Amil and Amin. According to *Khulasat-us-Siyaq* the Amil or the Amal Guzar was the head of the local administration at the pargana level.

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1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* I p. 329.
2. Ibid I p. 305.
3. *Iqbal Nama* pp. 179, 180.
4. *Waqa-i-Ajmer*, p. 84.
5. *Nigar Nama-i-Munshi* ff. 33 b, 34 a.
6. *Farhang-i-Kardani*, f.29.

In the eighteenth regnal year the jama of every mahal was assessed and an Amil was entrusted with the collection of the revenue amounting to one karore of dams[1]. In the beginning the office of the Karori included the functions of the executive officer of the pargana along with the work of collection. He was allowed a commission of twenty percent in addition to other collections known as abwab.[2] In the reign of Shahjahan certain organisational changes were introduced and the office of the pargana Amin was instituted for the first time. Islam Khan, the Diwan-i-Ala (13th to 19th year) appointed an Amin in every mahal to assess the jama who stayed in the mahal for the whole year. The office of faujdari and the work of collection of land revenue was entrusted to Karori. The respective position and the functions of Amin and Karori were determined under the next Wazir Saad-ullah Khan (20th to 30th year). He organised a number of pargana into a chakla and established the office of the Amin and Faujdar in a chakla which were held by the same person.The Karori remained the pargana officer and was required to collect the government revenue and was allowed the commission of 5% as the collection perquisites. Thus the Karori of the mahal was relegated to a subordinate position and was required to obtain necessary orders from the Amin and the Faujdar.[3]

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1. Khulasat-us-Siyaq ff. 25; Akbar Nama III p. 87
2. Taxes in addition to the regular assessment on land, here most probably it refers to the tax collected under the head of muhassilanah or collector's fee.
3. Khulasat-us-Siyaq ff. 25-26

The offices of the Amil and Amin were thus quite distinct from each other with their own well-defined functions attached to each of them. Generally, two different persons were appointed to hold the respective offices. But there was no rigidity in the practice and two offices were sometimes held by the same person. Similarly, a Faujdar could hold the office of the Amil or the Amin. In 1108 A.H./1696 A.D. Sayyid Mohsin was appointed the Amil and the Amin of pargana Dhauliqah in Gujrat. In 1109 A.H. 1697 A.D. Muhammad Baqar was appointed as the Faujdar and Amil of the same pargana and at an earlier date Amanat Khan was entrusted with the offices of *amini* and *faujdari* of pargana Patan Dev.[1]

The functions and duties of the Amil have been described in the *Ain*, the *Khulasat-us-Siyaq*, the *Farhang-i-Kardani*, *Dastur-ul-Amal-Baikas* and in the *Hidayat-ul-Qawanin*. The account of the Amil's functions and duties in the Ain cannot hold good for the 17th and 18th century in view of the fact that under Akbar the Amil was the head of the entire pargana administration combining in himself the offices of the Amin, Faujdar and Amil. But important changes were introduced in the organisation of the pargana administration in the reign of Shahjahan and the Amil was relegated to a subordinate position under the Amin and the Faujdar. He was entrusted with the work of collection and other matters directly related with it. The functions and duties of Amil, in this position are best described

1. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I pp. 291, 292, 330, 334

in the Khulasat-us-Siyaq and the Farhang-i-Kardani. The account of the Amil's function and duties in the Hidayat-ul-Qawanin is vague and general and in the Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas[1] the description seems to suggest that the offices of Amil, Amin and Faujdar were again combined in one person.[2] Such a position of the Amil is also revealed in some other sources. Nevertheless, the office of the Amil was quite distinct from the Amin and the Faujdar. The functions and duties of the Amil or Karori are best described in the Khulasat-us-Siyaq and the Farhang-i-Kardani and Nigar Nama-i- Munshi and an account of his functions and duties based on these sources[3] is given below.

The primary function of the Amil was to ensure the cultivation of all cultivable land and to collect the assessed land revenue on the cultivated land. He was required to see, we are told in the Khulasat-us-Siyaq, that the total area entered into the nasaq agreement was brought under cultivation and that no decrease in the area under cultivation was allowed. He appointed a Tappadar in every tappa who was required to stay in the Tappa and keep himself informed about every village and every cultivator so that no arable land in any village might be left fallow and the cultivator did not leave his place for elsewhere. In order to ensure the cultivation of arable land, he was enjoined to request the Amin to grant loan for agricultural purposes to the poor and the needy cultivators

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1. Hidayat-ul-Qawanin f. 29 a
2. Dastur-ul-Baikas ff. 26-63
3. Khulasat-us-Siyaq ff. 25, 26; Farhang-i-Kardani f. 209
   Nigar Nama-i-Munshi pp. 136, 137

who could not till the land for lack of necessary resources such as oxen, and seeds. He was, then, required to take necessary measures for the collection of land revenue. He appointed certain horsemen and foot-men for keeping watch over them, so that the cultivators did not evade the payment of land revenue. He was required to collect the land revenue within the fixed period on the basis of tumar-i-jamabandi, prepared by the Amin and remitted the collections in the treasury.

Secondly, he had a joint responsibility along with the Amin and Fotahdar for the safe custody of the money deposited in the local treasury. He locked the treasury under his own seal and that of the Amin and kept a vigil with utmost care. He was, however, not entitled to spend a single dam without the prior sanction of the Diwan.

Thirdly, he settled the remuneration of the semi-officials such as Chaudharis, Qanungo and Muqaddam. At the end of the year he adjusted the claims of the Chaudhari, Qanungo and Muqaddam, provided the total collections had been made, for their perquisites known as nankar, rusum and inam. He himself was entitled to a commission of 5% on the total collections.

Lastly, he was responsible for the maintenance and despatch of a number of registers to the court. These registers were sent at the end of every receipts and arrears against each village. He was also required to submit an abstract of the total income and

expenditure of the entire year.[1]

Bar Amad-i-Amilan:

The accounts of collections maintained by the office of the Amil were duly audited. In case it was found that he had made collections over and above the assessed land revenue and other sanctioned taxes known as jihat the amount was specified and it was realized from the Amil. This practice was known as the bar-amad or bar-amad-i-amilan. Such unauthorised collections were regarded as State dues and the Amil was accountable for them. The practice can be traced back to the reign of Shahjahan and most probably continued till the reign of Shahjahan and most probably continued till the reign of Muhammad Shah. Before the reign of Shahjahan, we are told in the Khulasat-us-Siyaq, no such realisations were made from the Amil. During the reign of Shahjahan, Rai Raja Jaswant Rai, the Peshkar of the Diwan-i-Ala, obtained the kaghaz-i-kham[2] of the Patwaris and translated them into Persian. It was revealed that the Karoris had misappropriated a considerable amount. Since then it was laid down that the tumar-i-bar-amad showing the State demand against the Amil should be prepared on the basis of kaghza-i-Kham maintained by the Patwari. The collections were to be made from the Karori, the

1. Farhang-i-Kardani f. 29; According to the Khulasat-us-Siyaq the total number of registers came to 12. See Khulasat-us-Siyaq f.26

2. Literally the term seems to signify the original papers; technically it denoted the papers maintained by the Patwari in the local language. It showed along with other entries all the realisations made by the Amils.

Fotahdar and from others who had misappropriated the collections over and above the mal-o-jihat (land revenue and other taxes). Two officers, the Darogha[1] and the accountant were appointed in every mahal to implement the regulation. The newly created office of the Bar-Amad Nawis concerned itself in translating the khaghz-i-kham of the Patwari and prepared the tumar-i-baramad.[2]

The new office of the Bar-Amad Nawis continued to function till the reign of Muhammad Shah.[3] The Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas and the Nigar Nama-i-Munshi contains a letter of appointment which enumerates the functions of a Bar-Amad Nawis, appointed at the pargana level. He examined the papers maintained by the Patwari and prepared the tumar-i-bar amad showing the amount to be realised from the Amil. He was helped in the preparation of the tumar-i-bar amad by the Chaudharis, Qanungos and zamindars. They were instructed to furnish the papers maintained by the Patwari to the Bar Amad Nawis while the Patwari himself was required to assist the Bar-Amad Nawis in the preparation of the tumar-i-bar-amad. The tumar was sent to the Revenue Ministry and the auditors in the Ministry determined the amount to be realised from the Amil.[4]

Amin:

Under Akbar the Amin has been mentioned as one of the important

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1. A general term for an officer who coordinated or supervised the working of a department
2. Khulasat-us-Siyaq ff. 43b, 44a.
3. The inference is based on the fact that the functions and duties of the Bar Amad Nawis are given in the Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas. f.18.
4. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi f. 104; Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas f.15.

provincial officers such as Diwan, Bakhshi and Sadr. Gujrat for example had an Amin.[1] Later on it became a well-established practice to appoint an Amin in each of the provinces.[2] Sometimes, however, the offices of Amin and Diwan were held by the same person.[3] The details of the functions and duties of the provincial Amin do not find a place in the Ain. However, a stray reference in the Ain-i-Amal Guzar suggests that the Amin was sent to verify the report of Amil stating the extent of damages done to the crops by natural calamity.[4] The evidence in the Akbar Nama and in the Ain is corroborated by the evidence contained in the Khulasat-us-Siyaq, a work compiled in the reign of Aurangzeb. We learn that in the reign of Akbar an Amin was appointed in all the provinces. In case any of the mahal suffered from a natural calamity the said Amin visited the mahal at the request of the Amil. In consultation with him and with his agreement the Amin allowed the necessary remission on account of the damage done to the crops on account of the natural calamity. After the completion of the work assigned to him he returned to his headquarters. For a long time, we are told, the practice continued. However in the reign of Shahjahan, Islam Khan the Diwan Ala, appointed an Amin in every mahal and he was entrusted with the work of assessing the jama.[5]

The Pargana Amin:

We have noted the origin of pargana Amin. He assessed the land

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1. Akbar Nama III, p. 266, 403, 601
2. Ibid, III; pp.166,266,403; Khulasat-us-Siyaq ff. 26,27
3. Mirat-i-Ahmadi I pp. 291, 292, 330, 334
4. Ain-i-Akbari, p. 199
5. Khulasat-us-Siyaq f. 25b, 26ab

revenue and was required to stay permanently in the *mahal* of his appointment. However, the power and position of the Amin was increased when Saadullah Khan the Wazir introduced some changes in the organisation of the local administration. He created the unit of *chakla* comprising a number of parganas and appointed a permanent Amin and Faujdar in each *chakla*. The two offices were held by the same person. Before the introduction of this reform the offices of the Karori and Faujdar were held by the same person. On account of changes introduced by Saad Ullah the Karori of the pargana became a subordinate to the Amin and obtained his orders from the latter.[1]

Functions and Duties:

The Amin, we are told in the *Khulasat-us-Siyaq*, occupied the position of an adjudicator between the king and the ryots. He was required to see that the State dues were not left unrealised with the ryots and that no injustice and oppression was committed against them. He was required to see that one half of the produce was realised for the State and the other half was completely left with the ryots. His primary function was to ascertain and discover all the land under cultivation and assess it according to rules and regulations. He was particularly instructed to see that no cultivated land was kept hidden from him and thus misapproriated by the fraud and the dishonest. He compared the assessment figures for the last ten years on the basis of *mawaznah dah salah*, inspected

1. *Khulasat-us-Siyaq* ff. 25b, 26ab

each field under cultivation and assessed the jama within the period specified for assessment.[1] When the assessment for the entire pargana had been completed he prepared the tumar-i-jamabandi bearing the signatures of the Chaudharis, Qanungos and the Qazi. He also obtained an undertaking from the Karori to the effect that the latter would be accountable for the total collections of the assessed jama.[2] The Amin, was however vested with the discretionary power to accede to the request made by the ryots for assessing the jama in accordance with the particular method of assessment opted by them. The Amin issued patta (lease deed) and obtained qabuliat (deed of acceptance) from them. He maintained some sixteen registers furnishing complete information about the agrarian conditions obtaining in the pargana. He was also required to send the assessment paper and other papers maintained in his office to the Revenue Ministry. He was also associated with the management of the treasury and along with other officers was jointly responsible for the safe custody of the cash in treasury.[3] Finally, he kept a watch over the Karoris, Chaudharis, Qanungos and zamindars so that they did not realise any of the taxes, forbidden by the Emperor.[4] Thus he exercised some supervisory authority over the pargana officials.

Karkun:

The Karkun was an important officer in the land revenue

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1. Khulasat-us-Siyaq, ff. 17,18, cf. Hidayat-ul-Qawanin ff.27b, 28ab; Nigar Nama-i-Munshi p.136, Farhang-i-Kardani f.29
2. Farhang-i-Kardani f.29; Hidayat-ul-Qawanin, ff.27b,28ab.
3. Khulasat-us-Siyaq ff.17,18
4. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi p.136

administration of a pargana. Under Akbar he served as a subordinate officer under Amil and was associated with the work of assessment, collection of land revenue and safe custody and proper disbursement of money in the pargana treasury. We learn from the Akbar Nama that the Amil of the khalsa was served by two Bitikchis, the Karkun and the Khas Nawis.[1] As to his functions and duties we have some stray references in the Ain-i-Amal Guzar and Ain-i-Khazanadar. It appears that the Karkun recorded the zabt operations independently along with the Patwari. The Amil compared the two records and put his seal on the record of the zabt operation noted by the Karkun. A copy of the record was handed over to the Karkun.[2] He had also to attest the muntakhab[3] of a village after the zabt operations had been completed which was despatched to the court weekly. His next important function was to keep a watch over the collections and he maintained a ledger showing the daily receipts which was simultaneously maintained by the Amil and the Khazanadar.[4] Lastly, he was associated, along with other officials, with the safe custody of money deposited into the treasury and its disbursement in accordance with the rules and regulations of the Revenue Ministry. The Khazanadar was instructed to keep the money received by him at a proper place made known to the Karkun, and compare his own ledger of receipts with that of the Karkun. Generally, the Khazanadar was not authorised to disburse the money from the treasury without the prior sanction of the

1. Ain-i-Akbari, III, p.381
2. Ibid, I, p.199.
3. An abstract of the village account showing in one view the fields situated in different parts of the village owned or cultivated; an abridged form of muntakhab-i-khasra showing the jama of the village together with the area under cultivation.
4. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p.199.

Diwan. However, in case of an emergency the Karkun and the Shiqdar could give necessary sanction for disbursement which was to be duly reported to the court.[1]

The Karkun continued to occupy the same position in the land revenue administration of the pargana in the 17th and the first half of the 18th century. He was associated with the work of assessment, collection of the land revenue and the safe custody and proper disbursement of the money deposited in the paragana treasury.[2] He had to maintain certain papers and despatch them to the higher authorities, at the end of every season. Moreover, he had to despatch the progress report of collections every week and the statement of income and expenditure fortnightly.[3]

The Pargana treasury:

Each pargana had its own treasury and was administered by a number of officials headed by the Khazanadar, commonly known as Fotahdar. Under Akbar, the Amil, the Karkun and the Shiqdar were associated with the management of treasury and were jointly responsible for the safe custody and proper disbursement of the cash deposits in the pargana treasury. Later on, it appears, the posts of the Darogha-i-khazana and Mushrif were added to the treasury staff.

Khazanadar:

Under Akbar the Khazanadar or treasurer was generally known

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1. Ain I p. 201
2. Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas ff. 11, 12, Nigar Nama-i-Munshi f. 104
3. Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas ff. 11,12

as Fotahdar. The Ain-i-Khazanadar gives a comprehensive account of the functions and the duties of the Khazanadar. His functions covered the collections of revenues, the safe custody of the cash receipts, the maintenance of the accounts and the proper disbursement of cash deposites in the treasury. He was required to accept all kinds of coins, gold, silver and copper brought by the cultivators. He was specifically enjoined not to demand any particular coin. He could not demand rebate on the august coin of the Emperor but take merely the equivalent of the deficiency in coin weight. He was required to deposit the cash at a suitable place with the appraisal of Karkun and Shiqdar and count it every everning. He prepared a memorandum and got it signed by the Amal-Guzar and compare the day ledger of the receipts with that of the Karkun, and authenticated it with his own signature. When the Amil had put his seal on the door of the treasury, the Khazanadar placed a lock of his own and opened it only after due intimation to the Amil and the Karkun. As to the collection of money from the cultivator he was required to collect it with the knowledge of the Amil and the Karkun and grant a receipt for the same. In order to remove any discrepancy the Khazanadar was required to obtain the signature of the Patwari on the account prepared by him. As to the disbursement of cash deposits in the treasury the regulations said that the Khazanadar was not authorised to disburse any money for any purpose, whatsoever, without the sanction obtained from the Diwan. In case an emeggency arose and the expenditure could not be deferred, the money could

be disbursed by obtaining the written permission of the Karkun and the Shiqdar. However, the matter was to be duly reported to the higher authorities.[1]

The functions and duties of the Khazanadar continued to be same in the 17th and 18th centuries.[2] It appears that in the first half of the 18th century the Fotahdar was entitled to collection of certain perquisites, known as rusum-i-fotahdari. He was authorised to appropriate 5/6th of collection made under the head rusum and the balance of 1/6th was kept in his custody for necessary adjustments when his accounts were audited.[3]

Darogha-i-Khazana:

The Darogha-i-Khazana is not mentioned in the Ain, but the latter documents contain reference to the office of the Darogha-i-Khazana. The letters of appointment enumerate the functions and duties of the Darogha and suggest that he held an important position in the department of the pargana treasury. His main function was to supervise and coordinate the working of the pargana treasury. He was responsible for the safe custody of the daily collections made at the pargana treasury and to verify the cash in accordance with the entries made in the accounts maintained by the Karkun, accountant and Fotahdar. The cash was to be locked in the treasurer' room under his own seal, and it was to be opened with the mutual consent of the various officers associated with the management of

1. Ain I p.201
2. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi ff. 100,103, Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas ff.12-13
3. Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas f.13

the treasury. The Darogha-i-Khazana along with the other officers kept a watch over the disbursement of money and saw to it that Fotahdar did not misappropriate a single dam and did not disburse any money without the proper sanction of the Diwan. He was required to take necessary measures to ensure the prompt payment of the salaries to the soldiers. Finally, he had to keep with him a copy of the ledger showing receipts and cash deposits in the treasury.[1]

III

Hereditary offices of the Qanungo and the Chaudhari

The well-established practice of the Mughal Government to transfer the jagirdars as well as of the revenue officers, serving in khalsa lands, was hardly conducive to stability of the land revenue administration or to continuity in the maintenance of local records. It was not possible for a revenue officer to perform the functions of his office with any amount of success in the absence of complete records, showing the interests of various parties in land, the usuage laws and customs regarding revenue arrangements and the rates and modes of assessment. The consequent confusion in the local administration can be easily visualised. However, the hereditary officials, the Qanungo and the Chaudhari, filled the recurring vaccuum caused by the frequent transfer of jagirdars and of revenue officers. The Qanungos maintained complete records of the various claims and titles to land, of local customs and practices about the rates and modes

1. Dastur-ul-Amal Bakas f.25

assessment and also a record of the zamindar families who contracted for the collection of land revenue. Similar records were also maintained by the Chaudharis.[1]

The Qanungo:

It appears that the Qanungo, at least in some provinces, were appointed to three different administrative levels, namely the subah,[2] the sarkar[3] and the pargana.[4] Whereas the provincial Qanungo attested the accounts prepared by the Diwan for submission to the Revenue Ministry[5], the sarkar Qanungo collected the revenue papers such as mawazanah dastur-ul-amal,[6] the list of villages, and other explanatory notes from the pargana Qanungos, attested them with his signatures and forwarded them to the Revenue Ministry.[7] The

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1. Dastur-ul-Amal Alamgiri, f.8a
2. Riyaz-us-Salatin, pp. 350, 352
3. Tuzuk, p.76, Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas, ff.43,44
4. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p.209, Nigar Nama-i-Munshi, ff. 104, & 105, Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas, ff. 43,44.
5. Riyaz-us-Salatin, pp. 350, 351
6. The record of local laws, and regulations regarding the revenue, and of the rates and modes of assessment.
7. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas, ff. 43, 44.

Qanungo of a sarkar also exercised some supervisory authority over the conduct and actions of the pargana Qanungos.[1]

Pargana Qanungo:

The Qanungos at the provincial and sarkar level do not seem to have maintained their own records. They seem to have been mainly concerned with collection and transmission of the records maintained by the pargana Qanungos. However, it was at the pargana level that the Qanungo maintained his own records and appears to have been an active member of the local land revenue administration. Generally, there was one Qanungo in a pargana, but in certain parganas there could be more than one Qanungo.[2]

Functions:

The most important function of the Qanungo was to maintain a complete record of the various interests in land and of the usuages and regulations respecting the rates and modes of assessment. He maintained a number of registers which provided complete information about the agrarian conditions obtaining in the pargana. The records[3] maintained were the *taqsim* or *mawaznah dah salah*, *dastur-ul-amal*, list of villages, the *jamadami* figures, records

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1. *Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas* ff. 43, 44
2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* I, p.263 Nigar Nama-i-Munshi, f. 104; Studies in The Land Revenue History of Bengal, p.166,167
3. The list of papers given above is based on the following authorities: *Ain* I p.200, *Zawabit-i-Alamgiri* f.8a *Nigar Nama-i-Munshi* ff. 104,105, *Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas* ff. 43,44, *Hidayat-ul-Qawanin* ff. 63,64, also see Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal p.187.

about the aima[1] lands specifying the nature of the grant (whether granted by virtue of a farman or by the order of the local officer).

The Qanungo also obtained and maintained copies of Government accounts and papers of revenue collections such as copies of the engagements of the zamindars or farmers for revenue settlement.[2] The next important function of the Qanungo was to record the various interests in land and note any changes and alterations effected on account of sales, mortgages or free gifts.[3] When a sale-deed of a zamindari was executed the Qanungo was duly informed and it was specifically stated in the sale deed that the transaction was executed with the cognisance of the pargana Qanungo.[4] Moreover, the Qanungo was associated with the work of assessment. Having satisfied himself that the assessment was just and equitable, he along with the Chaudhari attested the daul or estimated jama and certified that the assessment was made in consultation with them and that no injustice had been done to the ryots.

Emoluments and allowances:

In the early years of Akbar's reign the Qanungo was entitled to half of the collections made under the head of sad-doi of the Patwari or two percent of commission paid to the Patwari. The other half went to the Patwari. Later on, however, Akbar discontinued the

1. Madad maash lands or grant of rent-free lands as subsistance allowance.
2. Studies in the History of Land Revenue in Bengal
3. Dastur-ul-Amal Mahdi Ali Khan 66a. Allahabad Documents, Nos. 224, 225, 228, 229, Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal, pp. 164, 45
4. Allahabad Document No. 229; cf. Dastur-ul-Amal of Mahdi Ali Khan f. 6 a.

practice and the Qanungo received a fixed salary for services rendered to the State.[1] However, the payment was not made in cash but lands yielding an estimated income equal to their salaries were assigned to them. Subsequent evidence relating to the first half of the 18th century, however, indicates that the practice of assigning lands to the Qanungos was abandoned and they were paid in the form of commission collected from the ryots. The Qanungo was entitled to collect 2% from the share of the ryots and this commission was known as rusum.[2]

Chaudhari:

Literally, the word "Chaudhari" signifies a holder of four (shares or profits) as well as the headman of a village. It also denoted a holder of landed property classed with the zamindars and taaluqqahdars.[3] The Chaudhari was an important official at the pargana level and was associated with the local land revenue administration in more than one way. The office of the Chaudhari appears to have been hereditary.[4] Generally, the office of the pargana Chaudhari was held by one person,[5] but no uniform practice obtained as there is evidence to show that there were sometimes more than one

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1. Ain-i-Akbari I p. 209
2. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas ff. 43, 44
3. Wilson's Glossary p.105; Chaudhari was also known as Patel and in the Deccan he was called Desh Mukh (Malumat-ul-Afaq f.174)
4. Allahabad Documents Nos.299,328; In these documents the Chaudhari appears to be as a family name and indicates the heriditary nature of the office. Moreover, the practice of the grant of nankar land to the Chaudhari leads to the same inference.
5. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas f. 41, 42, Farhang-i-Kardani, f.29

Chaudhari in a pargana.[1]

Functions:

The Chaudhari was associated with the work of assessment and collection of revenue. He accompanied the Amin when the latter visited the village for the annual or periodical assessment and was consulted by the Amin.[2] He put his signature on the rent roll along with the Qanungo and certified that the assessment of land revenue for the pargana, made in consultation with him, the Qanungo and Muqaddams, had been accepted by them.[3] The Chaudhari was also associated with the work of collection and gave an undertaking along with the Qanungos and Muqaddams of the pargana that the assessed amount for the pargana would be deposited in the treasury through the Karori.[4]

The Chaudhari attested certain revenue papers such as rent-roll and tumar-i-afat or statement showing details of damage done to crops.[5] He also maintained records giving details about the agrarian conditions that obtained in the pargana and the record of various interests in land. He furnished some records to Karori such as the mawazinah dah salah, list of villages, records showing rent free grants and dastur-ul-amal[6].

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1. Mirat-i-Ahmadi p. 263, Farhang-i-Kardani f.29
2. Hidayat-ul-Qawanin f.26
3. Farhang-i-Kardani f.34a.
4. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri f.8a
5. Farhang-i-Kardani f.36
6. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri f.8a

The Chaudhari was required to make every effort in connection with the extension of cultivation. Moreover, he was required to cooperate with the government officers when they were engaged in chastising and suppressing unruly and rebellious elements in the villages under his jurisdiction.[1]

Allowances or Perquisites:

For the services rendered to the State and Chaudhari was granted rent-free land. Jahangir granted rent-free lands to each of the Chaudharis appointed by him in the Panjab. He describes the grant as madad maash or subsistence allowance.[2] Later documents indicate that the grant of such rent-free lands as subsistence allowance continued. However, it was not described as madad maash but came to be known as nankar. There are many references to the nankar land granted to the Chaudharis.[3] The grant of nankar land was made by the State. He was also sometime paid by the ryots. In a letter of appointment, contained in the Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas, we are told that the Chaudhari was entitled to collect the fixed commission (رسوم مقرری) of one percent from the share of ryots, and was enjoined not to collect or expect any thing more.[4] Unless the rusum of one percent collected from the ryots is identified with the grant of nankar land, the available evidence suggests that the Chaudhari was regarded as the servant of the State as well as the representative of the agricultural community and for his services he was paid by both.

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1. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas ff. 63,64
2. Tuzuk, p.32
3. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas f.45,47, Farhang-i-Kardani ff.29b,30a.
4. Ibid ff. 41,42

CHAPTER III

JAGIRDARI SYSTEM

Under the Mughals the imperial territory for purposes of land revenue administration was divided, somewhat unevenly, into the two broad categories of the *khalsa* and *jagir* *mahals*. The *mahal* earmarked as *jagir* but not yet assigned constituted a sub-category and were known as *mahal-i-pai-baqi*.[1] The bulk of the imperial territory constituted *jagir* lands and the revenue of these lands was assigned to the imperial servants known as *mansabdars* in lieu of their salaries against their ranks in the imperial service. These assignees were entitled to collect the State revenue of the *mahals* assigned to them as *jagir*,[2] *tiyul*[2] or *iqta*[3] and in this capacity they were known as *jagirdars* or *tiyuldars*. Each *mansabdar* held a definite rank in the imperial service which might be a single *zat* rank or a double rank comprising *zat* and *sawar* ranks. The pay scales of *zat* and *sawar* rank were separately laid down and the salary of a *mansabdar*, holding a certain rank was accordingly cal-

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1. *Khulasat-us-Siyaq*, f.48b
2. The author of the *Mirat-ul-Istilah* makes a distinction between *jagir* and *tiyul* in as much as the jagir was assigned to nobles and *mansabdars* and the *tiyul* was assigned to the princes and the persons belonging to the royal family. See *Mirat-ul-Istilah* f.15a. It is, however, to be noted that in the chronicles and documents of the Mughal period the two terms indicate an assignment with no special meaning attached to them.
3. *Iqta* is also used in the sense of assignment but its use is rather rare. See *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, p.355

culated in terms of dams[1]. An area - a single mahal, a part of mah or more than one mahal - yielding an estimated income to the salary was assigned to him as jagir. This estimated income was tec technically known as jama or jamadami and included the land revenue as well as the income from other heads of taxation known as sair jihat or sair.[2] The income from transit duties and from the taxes on the commodities bought or sold in towns or markets constituted separate mahals known as sair mahals, and these were often assigned as jagir.[3] The salary of the mansabdars, however, could also be paid in cash and those of the mansabdars, who received cash salaries were known as naqadis.[4] An assignment which carried no obligation with it and denoted an increase in the mansab was known as inam.[5]

The jagirdari system under the Mughals developed as a distinct institution and was governed by elaborate rules and regulations. The foundations of this unique institution were laid under Akbar but it was Shahjahan who transformed the simple organisation into a complex institution. Gradually the institution emerged as

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1. For details see "Mansabdari system" by Abdul Aziz; Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign pp. 80,81, Farhang-i-Kardani ff.21a-24a; Khulasat-us-Siyaq ff.76a-77b
2. The taxes on clothes, hides, oil, grains and other edibles, on instruments, horse, camel, etc., collected in the market place and chabutara-i-kotwali were known as sair jihat. Khulasat-us-Siyaq f.22b
3. Amal-i-Saleh III, pp.65,149; Mirat-i-Ahmadi pp.305,329,337
4. Mirat-i-Ahmadi I pp.227,228,229, elaborate rules for calculating cash salaries are laid down, cf. Khulasat-us-Siyaq,77b-83a; Farhang-i-Kardani, ff.24ab.
5. The author of the Alamgir Nama says that in the Mughal Empire none except the princes of the royal blood was raised to rank above 7000/70000. As a mark of favour and consideration to a noble who had already attained the high rank of 7000/700

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the most characteristic feature of the Mughal administrative system. Primarily, the system was evolved to secure the efficient and disciplined services of a body of men and at the same time to relieve the government from the enormous burden of the land-revenue administration and the maintenance of law and order in the rural areas. But as the system developed by the end of the 17th century it began to threaten the administrative and economic stability of the Empire. As such it is important to ascertain the essentials of the system and investigate its nature and working in greater detail.

Nature of the Institution:

The institution of *jagirdari*, as it unfolded itself, in the 17th and 18th centuries appears to be complex and subject to constant changes. It was complex in the sense that the lands assigned as *jagirs* were subject to the dual authority of the State and *jagirdars*. Whereas the estimated income of a *jagir* was to be calculated by the Revenue Ministry, the actual assessment and collections were made by the *jagirdar* or his agent.[1] Again even in matters of assessing the individual holdings the *jagirdar* could not be given a free hand and he was required to conform to the rates sanctioned by the Revenue Ministry. The practice of transferring *jagirs* complicated the working of the land revenue

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the Emperor granted an additional assignment over and above the *jagir* assigned to the noble as his salary against his rank which was known as *inam*. *Alamgir Nama* I 618. See also *Amal-i-Saleh* III p.207; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* I p.291.

1. *Akbar Nama* III, p.381

administration in a jagir still further and elaborate and precise rules were laid down to divide the collections, if the jagir was transferred in the middle of the year, between the former jagirdar, the government and the new assignee.[1] [2] The constant attempt to narrow down gap between the jama and the hal-i-hasil and the later development of determining the obligations according to the hal-i-hasil indicates the complex pattern of the jagir administration. The institution was also subject to constant changes since the reign of Akbar and was extremely sensitive to political, administrative or economic changes. The extension of the empire, the weakening of the central authority, an increase in the number of mansabdars, famine, scarcity or impoverishment of peasantry or zamindars violently affected the working of the jagirdari system. An attempt is made in these lines to underline the main features of the institution and note the changes in it which ultimately led to its decline by the middle of the 18th century.

Transfer of Jagir:

As noted above the jagirdari system, in its essence, was a mode of payment by assignments. The jagirdar was entitled to collect the State Revenue from the mahal assigned to him as jagir in order to meet his own expenses and those of the contingent maintained by him for the service of the Emperor. Assignment of jagir as a mode of payment implied that his claim was strictly limited to the revenue of the assigned mahal and this fact was specifically

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1. Khulasat-us-Siyaq, f.48b

stated in the order of assignment.[1] It also implied that the *jagirdar* could not claim any right or title to the land in the *mahal* assigned to him. However, the right of assessment and collection of land revenue in a particular area for a considerable long time might be availed of to create some sort of permanent right or claim in the land or to establish local connections which might be utilised for acquiring proprietory right in land in one capacity or another. A long tenure as a *jagirdar* entailed such possibilities and the Mughal Emperors, who introduced the *jagirdari* system to secure the efficient and loyal services of an imperial service, took necessary measures to forestall the danger. This end was attained by introducing the practice of constant transfer of the *jagirs*. It was Akbar who deliberately planned to transfer the *jagirs* of Atka Khail in the Panjab[2] and provide alternative assignments in various provinces in the 13th regnal year. Abul Fazal recording the event has made out the point in some detail. According to him the practice of transfer of *jagir* was essential if the *jagirdars* were to be kept within their limits and the interests of the ryots were to be

1. The *parwanah* dated 19th May, 1635 A.D. issued by Wazir Afzal Khan reads that Sayyid Abdul Wahab was assigned 36,68,100 *dams* in pargana Daryapur, Sarkar, Gawil, Subah Berar, and that the Deshmukhs, Muqaddams and cultivators were instructed to acknowledge him as the *jagirdar* of the said amount and pay land revenue and other taxes to his agents. Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign pp.4,5; also see pp. 17,18,23, 147

2. *Akbar Nama* pp 332, 333

kept within their limits and the interests of the ryots were to be served. In order to attain these ends the jagirdars who had been concentrated in a locality should be stationed in different regions because such a staggering, in fact, led to peace and stability.[1]

Later on the practice of transferring jagirs became a well established policy of the Mughals,[2] and some passages in the chronicles suggest that the jagirs were not only transferred as an administrative routine but also with a view to neutralise the local influence and ties established by a jagirdar.[3] The jagirdars were even forbidden to take away land from the ryots and bring it under their own cultivation. It was also laid down that the jagirdar should not enter into matrimonial relations with people in the pargana assigned to him as jagir.[4] The underlying aim of these regulations was to prevent the jagirdar from establishing local influence or economic independence which would seriously impair the morale and efficiency of the Mughal imperial service.

A letter contained in the Nigar-Nama-i-Munshi and written by the agent of a prince in connection with the transfer of the jagir held by the prince in the Panjab and the alternative arrangements to be made in Bihar gives some insight into the procedure of the transfer

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1. Akbar Nama II, p.332, 333
2. Watan, jagirs were, however, exceptions which were hereditary or were granted for the life time. For transfer cases refer to: Tabqat-i-Akbari II p.223, 340, 350; Selected Documents of Shahajahan's Reign pp. 147,150,151,158; Mirat-i-Ahmadi I p.277,305; Nigar Nama-i-Munshi ff. 67,68
3. Tabqat-i-Akbari II, pp.223,340,350; Selected Documents of Shahjahan's reign pp.150,151.
4. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri p.4; Mirat-i-Ahmadi I p.185

and the complications that it involved.[1] The letter recapitulates the proceedings in the Revenue Ministry and the notes exchanged betwee the agent and the assigning officer and points out that in the given circumstances the assignment in Bihar should not be accepted at that stage as it would entail considerable financial loss to the prince and that the matter should be postponed till the next financial year. An examination of this evidence reveals that the transfer of jagir entailed a considerable amount of red tape. Notes were exchanged between the wakil of the jagirdar and the secretaries in the Diwan's office. The agent of the jagirdar was entitled to note his objections on the order specifying the new parganas assigned as jagir and could make his own choice out of the parganas specified in the list. In case, he was not satisfied with the list specifying the parganas to be assigned\ he could send his own proposal. If the jagirdar or his agent was satisfied with the alternative assignment he was required to submit a deed of agreement.[2] Thus it appears that a limited right of selection was extended to the jagirdar[3]. The evidence suggests that the practice of transfer caused a great deal of inconvenience to the jagirdar in case his jagir was resumed in the middle of the year and the alternative assignment was accepted in the same season. The agent in his letter, pointed out the difficulties created by resumption of a jagir in the middle of the year and the acceptance of the new assign-

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1. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi ff. 67, 68
2. Also see Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign p.150
3. Most probably this only applied to princes and powerful nobles.

ment in the same year. It appears that the completion of formalities in the Revenue Ministry, the appointment of the Amils and their arrival in their respective _mahals_ took considerable time and consequently little time was left in the year for a satisfactory collection of land revenue by the agents of the _jagirdar_. Normally, we are made to believ a _jagirdar_ suffered considerable financial loss in such an arrangement Again the yields from _rabi_ and _kharif_ were normally unequal and sometimes the difference was very considerable. Therefore a transfer in the middle of the year might deprive the _jagirdar_ of the better half of the annual yields.[1]

The practice of transfer, it may be pointed out, was almost indispensible from administrative consideration. But it caused inconvenience to the _jagirdar_ and entailed a great deal of bargaining and even corruption in the Revenue Ministry. Again the temporary nature of tenure of a _jagir_ failed to create any interest among the _jagirdars_ in the land and prosperity of the peasants. On the other hand it tended to make them realise the maximum and rackrent the peasantry.[2]

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1. We are told in _Ruqqat Alamgir_ that the pargana of Patodhi was assigned to Multafit Khan with effect from the beginning of _kharif_ and was resumed from him with effect from the beginning of _rabi_. The _mahsul_ for _kharif_ is stated to be far less than that of _rabi_. As such the _jagirdar_ would incur loss. See _Ruqqat Alamgir_ p.173.

2. Bernier p.23. The author gives a graphic picture of the evil consequences of the practice of the transfer of jagirs. In a word, the land is not tilled but almost by force, and consequently very ill; and much of it is quite spoiled and ruined; there being none to be found that can or will be at the charge of entertaining the ditches and channels for the course of waters to be conveyed to necessary places: nor any body that care to build houses, or to repair that are ruinous; the peasant reasoning thus with himself— Why should I toil so much for a tyrant that may come tomorrow to take all away from me, or at least all the best of what I have,

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Extent of the Imperial Control:

We have noted earlier that a *jagirdar* held a definite rank in the imperial service and his claim in his *jagir* was limited to the collection of the amount assigned to him against this salary or his rank. His position as a *jagirdar*, therefore, precluded any pretence of exercising powers and privileges which might contravene the imperial regulations. On the other hand, there is sufficient evidence to show that the internal administration of a *jagir*, in all its essentials, was carried on in accordance with the imperial regulations which covered the land revenue as well as general administration within a *jagir*. Thus a *jagirdar* was required to assess the land revenu in accordance with the *dastur*[1] and even in matters of collection he had to forego a part of his claim in case remission was granted by Emperor on account of damages done to crops.[2] Even the arrears for the past years could be remitted by the Emperor and a *jagirdar* had to

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and not leave, if the fancy taketh him, so much as to sustain my life even very poorly? And the Timariot, the governor and the farmer, will reason thus with himself— Why should I bestow money and take pains of bettering or maintaining this land, since I must every hour except to have it taken from me, or exchanged for another? I labour neither for myself nor for my children; and that place which I have this year, I may perhaps have no more the next. Let us draw from it what we can, whilst we possess it, though the peasant should break or starve, though the land should become a desert, when I am gone! (Bernier II p.23)

1. As early as the 27th year of Akbar's reign it was laid down that the *jagirdars* should collect land revenue and other taxes in accordance with the *dastur*. See *Akbar Nama* III p.381

2. In 993 A.H./1585 A.D.Akbar granted remissions in the provinces of Allahabad, Awadh and Delhi. The remissions in Khalsa lands amounted to 70,74,762 *dams*. Abul Fazal adds that the remissions granted in *iqtas* can be calculated accordingly, *Akbar Nama* III p.463. See also *Akbar Nama* III, pp.494,534.

comply with the royal order.[1] Imperial regulations pertaining to affairs other than the land revenue were equally applicable to the jagir lands[2] and the provincial Diwan communicated the content of the royal order to the jagirdar and his agents.[3]

The internal administration of jagir lands was supervised and controlled in more than one way. The important agency to control the jagirdars were the sawaneh nigars who were required to report the activities of the jagirdars and the conditions that obtained in the jagirs[4]. If a jagirdar was rreported to be oppressive or he failed to conform to the imperial regulations he was liable to punishment.[5] The punishment involved the transfer or resumption of the jagir or a

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1. In 1083 A.H./1672 A.D.Aurangzeb issued the order to the provincial Diwan of Gujrat that the arrears for the past in khalsa and jagir mahals should be considered as remitted and the ryots should not be oppressed for the arrears. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p.290.
2. In 989 A.H./1581 A.D. the jagirdars along with the other officers of the government were directed to maintain records about the inhabitants of the village within their jurisdiction, nothing their names and professions. They were also instructed to see that none was allowed to live without engaging himself in one profession or another. See Akbar Nama III, pp.346,347. We read elsewhere in the Akbar Nama that the jagirdars were required to report about the wicked, the obedient and the rebel within their jagirs. See Akbar Nama III, p.381.
3. Selected Waqai of the Deccan, I, p.46
4. Ruqqaat-i-Alamgiri pp. 11,15,37
5. Hasan Beg, the jagirdar of Chakla Kora was reported to be oppressive and the inhabitants of Chakla made constant complaints. Aurangzeb issued orders to resume his jagir without making an alternative assignment (see Ruqqaat-i-Alamgiri p.43). It was reported that Shah Beg Khan did not maintain the contingent as required by the regulations. Shahjahan issued an order to Aurangzeb that the parganas held in tiyul by Shah Beg Khan should be taken away and he should be sent to the Court (see Ruqqaat-i-Alamgiri p.93).
6. Tabqat-i-Akbari, II pp.340,350
7. Ruqqaat-i-Alamgiri, p.43, Ruqqaat-i-Alamgir, p.93

fine could be imposed on the defaulting jagirdar.[1]

Another important agency which enabled the Revenue Ministry to keep an eye on the working of the land revenue administration within jagirs were the hereditary offices of the Chaudhari, Qanungo and the Patwari. These officials as we know, maintained the village and pargana accounts in their offices. While the jagirdars were transferre or even the jagir lands might be resumed as khalsa, the offices of the Chaudhari, Qanungo and Patwari remained unaffected and the continuity of local records and traditions was maintained by them. These local records were always available to an assessing officer or any other officer deputed to gather first hand information about a jagir. Thus the Revenue Ministry had the necessary machinery to keep itself well-informed about the conditions of revenue administration in jagir lands. Moreover it was a well-established practice that the jagirdars submitted every year the hal-i-hasil figures for the current[2] and past years[3] and gave an undertaking that the figures furnished by them were correct and that they would be accountable for any discrepancy discovered in them.[4] They also submitted the mawaznah-i-dah-salah.[5] Thus the Revenue Ministry could obtain the revenue statements and records from two sources and could ascertain the conditions that obtained in the jagir lands.

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1. Ruqqaat-i-Alamgiri p.37
2. Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign pp.88,89,90; Mirat-i-Ahmadi I p.327
3. Mirat-i-Ahmadi I p.327
4. Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign pp.88,89,90,164
5. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I p.327

Jama and Hasil:

We have noted that the imperial servants known as mansabdars, with a few exceptions, were paid in the form of assignment and, therefore, it was necessary that the estimated income of the imperial territory should be ascertained. Consequently the estimated income of every village and more especially of every mahal was determined and it was technically known as jama or jamadami. Jama, broadly speaking, included the estimated income from all the sources of income of a mahal which were generally classified under the two heads of mal (land revenue) and sair (taxes other than land revenue). However, in calculating the jama of a mahal all the cultivable land within it was taken into account and an hypothetical assessment was made on it. But there are indications that generally all the cultivable land within a village or a mahal was not brought under cultivation and considerable part of it was left fallow. It has been recognised that under the Mughals, the land was waiting for men and there was not enough capital and man power to bring all the cultivable land under cultivation.[1] Thus a considerable part of the land was left fallow and was not actually assessed. This peculiar agrarian condition gave rise to a wide gap between the jama calculated on the basis of hypothetical assessment and hal-i-hasil or actual assessement for a given year. The land revenue administration under the Mughals took due note of the fact and the dastur-ul-amals invariably record the

1. Describing the condition of land and cultivation Bernier says, "that even of those that would be fertile, there is much that is not used for want of workmen." Bernier part II p.5. Also see Agrarian System, Moreland, Introduction p.xii.

jama and hal-i-hasil figures separately. It may, however, be noted that in a certain year for a variety of reasons the area under cultivation could increase considerably and could be regarded as the maximum for the past few years. In such an year the actual assessment closely approximated to the hypothetical assessment and such an assessment was known as hasil-i-sal kamil or hasil-i-kamil.

In the early years of Akbar's reign the jama was determined arbitrarily and was known as Jama Raqami Qalami. It was increased on paper because the number of available jagirs was small and the number of those claiming jagirs was very large. It appears that the jama Raqami Qalami affected the working of the jagirdari system adversely and it was set aside in the 11th or the 15th year by Muzaffar Khan and Raja Todar Mal. The new jama was calculated on the basis of the accounts obtained from the local Qanungos and an estimate of the hal-i-hasil or assessed land revenue. It was slightly less than the former jama but there was still a wide gap between the jama and the hal-i-hasil. Consequently, the jagirdars, soldiers and peasants were put to considerable distress. In the 19th regnal year the bulk of the imperial territory except Bengal, Gujrat and Kabul was resumed to khalsa and the jagirdari system for the time-being was suspended. In the 24th regnal year the jama Dah Salah was prepared by striking the average of the revenue demand for the ten years (15th to 23rd regnal year), and taking into consideration any improvement in the conditions of productions and the fluctuations in the

prices.[1] The account of the Jama Dah Salah in the Akbar Nama suggests that the reforms aimed at narrowing down the gap between the jama and hal-i-hasil figures and that the Revenue Ministry did succeed in its objective when the Jama Dah Salah was finally prepared. With the preparation of a satisfactory jama the practice of assgignment was revived.[2]

Under Akbar the jama amounted to more than 350 karores of dams.[3] At the end of Jahangir's reign it stood at 700 karores of dams.[4] The marked increase in the jama figures can be attributed either to the increase in the area under cultivation or a rise in the prices or to both. Again the jama figures might have been inflated in order to meet the situation caused by increase in mansabs and in the number of mansabdars. We know that the Emperor Jahangir inaugurated a policy of lavish increase in the mansab.[5] The fact that the land revenue administration under Jahangir suffered from inflated jamas is suggested by the reforms undertaken by Shahjahan who introduced the month-proportions for assignment of jagir and corresponding month -scales for determining the pay and military obligations of the jagirdars.[6] The inference is directly confirmed by Palsaret, a contemporary Dutch

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1. The above summary is based on the evidence contained in the Akbar Nama and the Ain. For reference see Akbar Nama II p.270, Akbar-Nama III pp.114-117, 282; Ain II p.2
2. Agrarian System pp. 97,98
3. Ain-i-Akbari II p.48
4. Badshah Nama, II p.711
5. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, pp.4,5. According to Tuzuk, the mansabs were increased in the proportion of 10:30 and 10:40. The lowest increase in the mansab amounted to 20%
6. Badshah Nama II pp.566, 507; Mirat I p.227-228; See also "Rank (Mansab) In the Moghul State Service", W.H.Moreland, Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society, 1936; The Mansabdari System, Abdul Aziz.

writer. He tells us that the valuation of the jagirs was inflated. A jagir with a valuation of 50,000 rupees, did not sometimes yield even 25,000 rupees although the peasants were rackrented. The evil of the inflated jama had its repurcussions on the mansabdari system and impaired the efficiency of the imperial service. According to Pelsaret many assignees who held the rank of 5,000 horse did not even keep 1000 in the service.[1]

Under Shahjahan, the wide disparity between the jama and the hal-i-hasil was recognised as an established fact and no attempt was made to narrow down the gap between the two figures. On the other hand, a new method was devised to determine the expected income of the jagirdar and his obligations were accordingly laid down. The hal-i-hasil or actual assessment for each mahal was ascertained and it was expressed inmonth proportions to jama which indicated the hal-i-hasil for twelve months. If the hal-i-hasil of a mahal amounted to 2/3rd of the jama, the mahal was described as eight-monthly; if the hal-i-hasil equalled to ½ of the jama the mahal was classified as six monthly and so on. The pay scales of the mansabdars and their military obligations were consequently, determined,in accordance with the hal-i-hasil of their jagirs and the obligations and salary of the mansabdars, ho holding the same rank, were calculated for each month ratio.[2]

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1. Palsaret, p.54
2. The interpretation is based on the administrative literature of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb's reigns. The main references are cited below:
   Selected Documents pp.64, 248; Ruqqaat-i-Alamgiri, pp.10,88,107 118,121-2,130-31,135,163-64; Badshah Nama II p.506; Mirat-i-Ahmadi I p.227-229.

The Jama Figures:

The jama figures for the reigns of Mughal emperors (Akbar to Bahadur Shah) are available in the Ain, the Badshah Nama and in a number of dastur-ul-amals. A comparative analysis of the jama figures[1] reveals that they tended to increase from the reign of Akbar onwards till the climax was reached by the end of Aurangzeb's reign. The total increase in the jama figures can be partly explained away by the addition of territories in the Deccan and partly by the increased income from taxation on the expanding trade and commerce. But an examination of the comparative jama figures for various provinces and even for sarkars in various reigns reveals that the jama figures had witnessed a definite and notable increase. II

Under Aurangzeb, the jagir lands still formed the bulk of the imperial territory, nevertheless, there were indications of a definite change in the nature and character of assignment system. The system was evolved, as we know, to restrict the power and pretensions of a landed aristocracy and provide the State with an efficient imperial service, paid in the form of assignment. By the close of the 17th century, however, the smooth working of the system was seriously impaired and it had begun to show signs of becoming an institution which tended to be static and failed to adapt itself to the changed political and agrarian conditions. The efficiency of the imperial service suffered; the jagirdars were faced with financial distress

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1. See Appendix B.

and were disgruntled. The resources of the empire were almost exhausted to provide jagirs to the mansabdars who were newly recruited.[1]

Thus when Aurangzeb died the institution of jagirdari was faced with a number of developments which constituted a serious threat to the stability of the institution. The glaring contradiction in the assignment system revealed itself in the form of an overwhelming increase in the number of mansabdars, an equal increase in the mansabs held by the old servants, which continued unabated, and in the corresponding scarcity of the available assignments. The inflated jama and keen competition among the mansabdars of the old families (khanah zadan) and the new class of claimants to mansabs and jagirs could be regarded as the logical corrallaries to the first two developments. During the ten or twelve years that followed the death of Aurangzeb and the accession of Muhammad Shah these tendencies in the jagirdari system, which threatened the breakdown of the system, continued unabated and were even accentuated. These developments coupled with the weakening of the central authority accelerated the process of disintegration and by the time of Nadir Shah's invasion the system had suffered almost a complete breakdown. Although nominal mansabs continued to be granted they seldom carried with them the corresponding assignments. Recruitment on cash basis became more and more common. Thus jagirdari system, as it was developed under the great Mughals, ceased to function. Whether it continued to function in a modified form or gave

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1. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, II pp. 602,603,396,397,411,412; cf Ruqqaat-i-Alamgiri, p.7. In reply to a request made for alternative assignment the Emperor pointed out that every few jagirs were available for assignment and the number of those seeking jagirs was very large As such it was not possible to make arrangements for alternative assignments.

place to some other institution, in the newly carved out principalities in the provinces of Deccan, Bengal, Bihar and Oudh, maybe a useful subject of investigation for those engaged in the study of the land revenue administration under the provincial dynasties. For the present it would suffice to examine the evidence relating to the last phase of the Mughal administration, which corroborate our inferences indicated above.

We have noted that as early as 1691 A.D., the system was faced with the problem of providing jagirs to an ever increasing number of mansabdars, whereas the number of available jagirs was very small. This crisis in the jagirdari system seems to have continued unabated during the remaining years of Aurangzeb's reign and perhaps it was accentuated. Our inference is based on the fact that on his accession Bahadur Shah was unable to provide jagirs to a large number of nobles and amirs. Unfortunately, his own policy of lavish awards of mansabs and increase in mansabs accentuated the crisis still further. The author of the Nuskha-i-Dilkusha recording the events of the first regnal year of Bahadur Shah says that all the mansabdars of Aurangzeb' reign were granted increase in their mansabs and were honoured with titles. A large army had gathered around the Emperor. The princess, and the Khan-i-Khanan, and some of the amirs were assigned jagirs in Hindustan but a large number of amirs could not be provided with jagirs. Khan-i-Khanan worked out and submitted to the Emperor a plan that the watan of the Rajputs should be brought under the imperial

administration and distributed among the <u>amirs</u>. The Emperor, it appears, approved of the suggestion, and left for Ajmer ostensibly to pay homage to the shrine of Muin-uddin-Chishti,[1] but really to take possession of the Rajput's <u>jagirs</u>.

An examination of the evidence under reference suggests that the tendencies which wwere impairing the <u>jagirdari</u> system did not only continue unabated but were accentuated still further by the new sovereign. Our authorities agree that Bahadur Shah, by his temperament was affable and generous and had little aptitude for the dull details of administration.[2] His reign opened with a lavish award of <u>mansabs</u> and increase in the <u>mansabs</u>. High and low among the Hindus and Muslims were raised to the ranks of 6000 and 7000, and were honoured with titles of <u>jang</u>, <u>malik</u>, <u>rai</u> and <u>raja</u>. Consequently the <u>mansabs</u> and titles lost their significance.[3]

The new sovereign, it appears, failed to realise the implications of his policy of lavish award of <u>mansabs</u> and increase in the <u>mansabs</u>. In fact, he became a willing agent for the deterioration of the situation in the <u>jagirdari</u> system still further which had become quite

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1. <u>Nuskha-i-Dilkusha</u> ff. 169 ab.
2. <u>Muntakhab-ul-Lubab</u> p.630. According to Khafi Khan, Bahadur Shah was so indifferent and badly informed about the State business that some impertinents calculated his date of accession in the phrase Shah-i-Baikhabar or the king without any information.
3. <u>Muntakhab-ul-Lubab</u>, II pp. 628,629,630; <u>Seir-ul-Muttaakhirin</u> II p.380, <u>Nuskha-i-Dilkush</u> f. 16 qa. According to the author of <u>Ahwal-ul-Khwaqin</u> in the reigns of Bahadur Shah's ancestors the title of Khan was not obtained after a life long service and a large number of <u>mansabdars</u> died in the vain hope of obtaining the title of Khan. But Bahadur Shah was so generous that no mansabdar was left without the title of Khan. <u>Ahwal-ul-Khwaqin</u>, f.45 ab.

grave some two decades earlier. However, there were people who fully understood the implications of the new sovereign's generosity in awarding *mansabs* and granting increase in the ranks without any reference to the availability of *jagirs*, and foresaw the complete breakdown of the system, if no step were taken to improve the situation. They even made some vain attempt to check the process of distintegration of the system in the very first year of Bahadur Shah's reign. The attempt at reform failed but deserves to be noted in some detail as it represents the contemporary view of the situation in the *jagirdari* system.

Ikhlas Khan, a man of great integrity and ability, was thoroughly dissatisfied with the policy of his sovereign. He was entrusted with the office of the *arz-i-mukarrar*.[1] He noted the generosity of the Emperor in awarding *mansabs* and granting increase in the ranks without examining the receipient's merits. He failed to reconcile himself we are told by Khafi Khan, with the policy of the Emperor, and requested the Jumlat-ul-Mulk to do something for bringing about some sort of order in the administration of the *jagirs*. In case, no attempt was made to set things right, the resources of the Empire, meagre as they were compared to the generosity of the Emperor, would soon be exhausted, and the old servants of the Empire, enjoying some position and status, would be faced with unemployment. He, therefore, proposed that when the *yaddasht* about the *mansab* was put up before the Wazir for his signature, after which it could be placed before

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1. *Muntakhabul- Lubab* II pp. 628, 629, Ikhlas Khan was appointed in the year 1119 A.H./1707 A.D.

the Emperor for the second time, the Wazir should sign it only after making necessary enquiry about the birth, race, rank and status of the candidate in question. The Wazir did not like to earn a bad reputation and Ikhlas Khan was asked to do the necessary enquiry. The latter, in his own turn, expressed his unwillingness to undertake the the necessary investigation. At last it was decided that Mustaad Khan alias Muhammad Saqii should be entrusted with the job. It was agreed that the following should be ascertained before the *yaddasht* was put up before the Emperor for the second time.

1. Whether the candidate, who applied for *mansab* for the first time, was qualified for the service of the Emperor.
2. The cause for the grant or increase in the *mansab*.
3. The nature and importance of the recommendation
4. Whether the *mansabdar* had received more increase in the *mansab* than he deserved.

It was also laid down that one should not be granted an increase before he had completed the term specified for a promotion in the rank It was hoped that these enquiries would entail considerable time. After the completion of these enquiries Mustaad Khan was required to write "In Order" (صحیح)[1] on the *yaddasht* prepared for the grant or for increase in the *mansab*.

An examination of the evidence described above will reveal that the contemplated reforms did not propose a reduction in the *mansabs*

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1. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* II pp. 628, 629

or suspension of fresh recruitments for a limited period. Perhaps such drastic reforms could not be even suggested as they would alienate and infuriate the all powerful class of *mansabdars* who, although originally created to serve the State, were by now directing and dominating destiny of the State itself. The attempt at reform was, therefore, limited to formulate such regulations which would put considerable restrictions on fresh recruitments, disqualify the undeserving and slow down the rate of increase in the *mansabs*. But the State had become so weak that it could not implement even those moderate measures of reform. We have noted that the Wazir had shrunk back from personally implementing the proposed reforms. Unfortunately, there were forces which worked against the contemplated reform and won their supporters within the palace. Mustaad Khan was made quite ineffective in implementing the proposed reform. Most often, we are told, the *yaddasht* was signed by Mustaad Khan without completing the enquiry on account of pressure brought upon him by the two wives of the Emperor, and other court favourites. Thus the business of the State, Khafi Khan points out, was transacted in contravention of the regulations and the signatures of the Emperor lost its value.[1]

We have noted earlier that the *jagirs* were not available for a large number of *amirs* as early as the first year of Bahadur Shah's reign. To provide for these *amirs* conquest and annexation of Rajputana was apparently undertaken but the plan could not be successfully

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1. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, II, p.629

implemented. The attempt to check the unprecedented increase in the number of mansabdars and an almost an equal increase in the ranks of the old mansabdars met with complete failure. We can presume that the grant of mansab and increase in the ranks continued and that such a policy was maintained without any reference to the availability of jagirs. Such an administrative policy could lead to only one result; that the mansabs in a large number of cases tended to be nominal and bore little or no relation with the assignment of corresponding jagirs Our authorities perhaps refer to this situation in the jagirdari system when they note that the ranks and titles lost their importance and significance.

We have noted earlier that the obligation of the jagirdars toward the maintenance of the animals in the royal stables had become a heavy burden in the reign of Aurangzeb. The entire income from jagirs we are told, could not cover the ½ or 2/3rd of the dues to be paid towards the maintenance of the animals in the royal stables. Consequently, the jagirdars and their agents were put to great hardship. In the reign of Shah Alam, at the suggestion of Khan-i-Khanan, it was laid down that in future when the jagirs were assigned to mansabdars, the amount payable in connection with the maintenance of animal in the royal stables, should be deducted from the jama or the dams showing the estimated income from their assignments. This reform we are told, removed the hardship caused to the mansabdars and their agents and it almost amounted to the remission of the tax from the

jagirdar.[1] Incidentally, the evidence under reference suggests that the highly inflated nature of the jama was given due recognition and as such the nominal deductions from the jama did not really affect the income of the jagirdars.

Farrukh Siyyar's weak and wavering character, the circumstances in which he ascended the imperial throne and the lust for power among the Sayyid brothers generated bitter jealousies among the nobles and converted the imperial court into a hot-bed of intrigues and machinations. As the days were on the new sovereign emerged more and more as the first puppet Emperor of the Mughal imperial line who became a tool in the hands of the intriguing nobles of one party or another. Qutub-ul-Mulk, Abdullah Khan, primarily a soldier, was hardly qualified to fill the high office of the wizarat. Immersed in the corporal pleasures of life he was little interested in the details of administration and he neglected his formal duties. Gradually, the power passed into the hands of his corrupt Diwan Ratan Chand. Under such circumstances, the grant of mansabs and jagirs was actuated more by political motives than by other considerations such as conformity with the administrative procedures or due regard to the meritorious services rendered by the grantee. Corruption and nepotism prevailed and jagirs and mansabs were granted at one time as a measure of appeasement, and at other to keep a balance between the comparative strength of the warring parties. On account of these developments the pace of

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1. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, II pp. 602, 603

disintegration in the jagirdari system which had been let loose in the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign became more rapid and glaring in the reign of Farrukh Siyyar.

According to the author of the Ahwal-ul-Khwaqin the majority of mansabdars who did not deserves the rank of 500 had been granted the rank of 5000 and 7000 and had acquired vast jagirs. But if summoned to serve in an emergency they were worthless for military service. Moreover, the descendants of the old nobles suffered from want of favour and could hardly meet their daily expenses.[1] Incidently, we also learn that almost all the khalsa land had been assigned as jagir. Similar developments are recorded in another contemporary authority the Muntakhab-ul-Lubab.[2] The Hindus, Khwaja saras and Kashmiris, we are told by Khafi Khan, had obtained high mansabs by force and fraud. They had succeeded in obtaining jagirs which yielded maximum revenue at the cost of other sections of the class of mansabdars and it had become difficult for others to get jagirs. Inayatullah Khan[3] made an

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1. Ahwal-ul-Khwaqin ff. 182 ab, 183a. The passage records the State of affairs which was revealed to Nizam-ul-Mulk when he examined the paper on taking charge of the wizarat in the first regnal year of Muhammad Shah. It is obvious that these developments must have taken place during the previous reigns. The reign of Jahandar Shah was short lived and he had not been successful to remove his all rivals. As such the evidence under reference may be ascribed to the reign of Farrukh Siyyar.

2. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, II, p. 775

3. Inayatullah Khan was appointed Diwan-i-Tan and Khalsa on 12th April, 1717 and given the rank of 400 zat and 3000 sawars. Irvine I p.334.

attempt to introduce the neeessary reforms. He reported the matter to the Emperor and proposed to take away the mansabs from the Hindus and others who were not qualified to hold their mansabs, after a scrutiny of awarijah[1] and taujih[2]. Ratan Chand and others whol held position of authority in the Revenue Ministry strongly resented the proposed reforms. They referred the matter to Qutub-ul-Mulk who did not allow the contemplated reforms to be implemented. On the other hand, all the Hindus on account of the re-imposition of jizya and proposal for decrease in the mansab developed a hostile attitude towards Inayatullah Khan. On account of these bickerings, the agreement which had been reached between Qutub-ul-Mulk and Inayatullah Khan did not work and they developed enmity towards each other.

The evidence summarised deserves a careful examination as it really records the disappearance of the essentials of the jagirdari system and the complete domination of the State by the mansabdars. It indicates an unprecedented increase[3] in the mansabs without the

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1. An abstract account of the receipts and disbursements of the jagirs and other lands of the subah showingh the total income of the sarkars and parganas together with the details of the revenue from each village.
2. A record which contained entries regarding the pay of the salary; also the revenue accounts showing the name of each payer of the revenue together with the amounts paid and the arrears.
3. The general statement in our authorities that great increase in mansabs and lavish award of mansab had become a prominent feature of the mansabdari system since Bahadur Shah's accession is supported and corroborated by an examination of the rise in the ranks of individual mansabdars.

   Bahadur Shah:
   (a) Munir Khan was granted the title of Khan-i-Khanan Bahadur Zafar Jang and his rank raised from 1590 to 7000 zat, 7000 sawars (Irvine II, p.36)

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corresponding ability of the mansabdars to fulfil their obligations. We are told that the mansabdars who did not deserve the rank of 500 were granted the rank of 5000 and 7000. But as to their efficiency to serve the State as a unit of army they were of little use and even worthless. In other words, the State was not in a position to impose the obligations for which the jagirs were assigned. And it is to be noted that such was the case with the majority of mansabdars, secondly a new class had entered the ranks of the mansabdars who had little skill and prowess as warriors. They were the Kashmiris, the Khwaja saras and Hindus. It appears that they served at the imperial court as mutasaddis or clerks and had acquired high mansabs and rich jagirs by manipulation and intrigue. The development was unfortunate as these munshis were neither willing, nor possessed the necessary qualifications for performing the military obligations imposed upon the mansabdars. In fact, they may be aptly described as the mansabdars and jagirdars at-large who did little or nothing for the money they

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(Footnote in continuation of previous page)

(b) Asad Khan was given the rank of 8000 zat 8000 sawars do-aspah sih aspah. Zulfiqar Khan, his son, the rank of 7000 zat, 7000 sawars (Irvine II p.38,39)

(c) Nizam-ul-Mulk was given the title of Khan-i-Dauran Bahadur with a rank of 7000 zat, 7000 sawars

Jahandar Shah's reign:

Lai Man, the woman, who gave alarm when an attempt was made to assassinate Jahandar Shah, bravely attacked the assailants and slew one of them and received for this good service the titles of Raza Bahadur Rustam Hind and the ranks of 5,000 zat (Irvine I p.281)

Farrukh Siyyar:

(a) Muhammad Murad Khan was appointed as Mir Tuzuk with a rise of 500 in rank making him 3000 zat in Jan.1718. In March 1718, he received the rank of 5000 zat, 2000 sawars. In May 1718, he was raised to 6000 zat, 5000 sawars. In December 1718 he was promoted to the rank

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extorted from the State. Thirdly, the new class acquired the *mansabs* and *jagirs* at the cost of those who were descendents of the old servants of the Mughal Empire, who had a brilliant record of prowess and skill in the art of warfare and equally commendable records of loyal services rendered to the State. In the keen competition the descendants of the old mansabdars lost the position of power and pelf to the new comers, remained without *mansabs* and *jagirs* and were reduced to extreme poverty. This naturally caused discontent and dissatisfaction among the people who were willing and able to serve the Empire. We can also note that even at this stage an attempt of reform was made but met with its usual fate and could not be implemented

But the most important development was the assignment of the *khalsa* lands as *jagirs*. What really happened can be easily visualised. With the increase in the power and position of the nobility and the *mutasaddis* the demand for *jagirs* became more vociferous. They refused to be contented, with the grant of nominal *mansabs*, as most probably they were in the reign of Bahadur Shah, but clamoured for assignment of *jagirs* against the *mansabs* granted to them. But the *jagirs* were not available. The ingenious device of making assignment on *khalsa* lands was proposed. The weak Emperor, always a puppet in the hands of one party or another ultimately succumed to their demand. Recourse

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of 7000 *zat*, 7000 *sawars*, 4000 *do aspah*, *sih aspah*. The best *jagirs* in Gujrat, Delhi and Agra provinces were allotted to him (Irvine I, 340, 344, 364).

(b) Ratan Chand, in 1714, was created Raja with a rank of 2000 *zat* (Irvine I p.291). In May 1720 he was promoted to the rank of 5000 *zat* 5000 *sawars* (Irvine II p.16)

was taken to make assignments on the mahals earmarked as khalsa, in order to meet the claims of the mansabdars, and within a short time almost the entire khalsa lands passed into the hadds of the jagirdars. It was an unusual development in the administrative history of the Mughal Empire, and amounted to the virtual surrender of the rights of the State to the mansabdars. Thus it happened that the class which was created to serve ~~th~~ and support the State at first became an enormous and unprofitable burden and still later an usurper of the right of the State. The inherent contradiction in the jagirdari and mansabdari system was fully revealed; it served to destroy the State which created the system.

Even the conversion of khalsa lands into jagirs could not solve the problem of the increase in the number of mansabdars and the scarcity of available jagirs. The mansabdars who were required to serve directly under the Emperor were, consequently recruited on the basis of cash salaries till jagirs were available for them. The Emperor Farrukh Siyyar we are told, at the instigation of Lutf-Ullah Sadiq[1] issued the order that the padshahi[2] mansabdars holding the rank of 20 to 900 and walashahi[3] mansabdars holding the rank of 7000 to 8000 should be paid at the rate of Rs.50/- per month till they were provided with jagirs. The walashahi mansabdars, who had estab-

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1. He joined the imperial service in the reign of Bahadur Shah but fell from favour under Jahandar Shah. He was appointed Diwan-i-Khalsa under Farrukh Siyyar and held the office of Khan-i Saman in the reign of Muhammad Shah. He died in the reign of Ahmad Shah (Maasir-ul-Umara III part I p.178)

2. Mansabdars who joined the imperial service after the accession of the reigning sovereign.

3. Most trusted troops of the reigning sovereign who had been attached to his person and served under him while he was still only a prince.

lished their loyalty and prowess, had not been paid for ten to twelve months. A large number of them were serving in the hope of getting jagirs. Orders were all of a sudden issued for their dismissal. The bakhshis told them that their services were terminated.[1]

The last attempt to save the system from complete breakdown was made by Nizam-ul-Mulk when he assumed the Wizarat in October 1721. He examined the records and papers in the Revenue Ministry and the revelation, indicated in the preceding lines, was almost shocking. The results of his enquiry were brought to the notice of the Emperor and Nizam-ul-Mulk was authorised to take necessary steps for restoring order in the administration of jagir lands. His proposals for reforms may be summed up as follows:-

1. The ranks of the old nobility should be increased.
2. Those who had acquired mansabs and status in recent time were to be awarded mansabs according to their individual merits. He proposed to decrease their mansabs.
3. The mahals earmarked as khalsa in the previous reigns were to be resumed as such.
4. The jagirs where collections could only be made by employing force or threat of force should be assigned to powerful nobles and tiyuls where collections could be made without much difficulty should be assigned to smaller and weaker

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1. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab : II, p.769; Seir-ul-Mutakhirin II p.405. According to Seir-ul-Mutakherin the order for recruitment was issued in the beginning of the fifth rengnal year. A majority of recruits held the rank of 20 to 900. It specifies the padshahi and walashahi mansabdars separately.

mansabdars.[1]

The contemplated reforms raised high hopes in certain quarters[2] and it was hoped that the administrative stability, which was seriously impaired since the death of Aurangzeb, would be restored. But soon the hopes were belied and the Wazir met with stiff opposition from such persons as Samsam-ud-Daula and Haider Quli Khan. Those who had vested interests and the professional intriguers at the court soon alienated the Emperor from the able and well meaning Wazir and the Emperor was induced to humiliate the Nizam-ul-Mulk. He fell from favour and was constrained to leave Delhi in December, 1723 and within a few months reached Malwa.[3] The last chance to save the jagirdari system and the Empire was missed and soon the inevitable came to pass. By the middle of the 18th century the system had ceased to be a living organisation. One seldom got an assignment, we are told by Anand Ram Mukhlis. Even if the assignment was made he could not obtain the possession of his assigned jagir.[4]

1. Ahwal-ul-Khawaqin ff. 182 ab, 183 a. Shah Nama-i-Munwar-ul-Kalam ff. 8ba Seir-ul-Mutaakhirin
2. Tazkirat-ul-Muluk ff. 131 ab.
3. Ahwal-ul-Khawaqin, f.183 a. Seir-ul-Mutaakhirin II p. 456; Later Mughals, Irvine II pp.131,132,134,136, 137.
4. Mirat-ul-Istilah f. 64 b

CHAPTER IV

IJARAH OR REVENUE FARMING

The practice of *ijarah* or revenue farming on a fairly large scale, especially in *khalsa* lands constitutes an important development in the land revenue system of the period under our study. It appears that it had been a common practice with the *jagirdars*, whenever it suited their needs, to farm out the revenues of their *jagirs* to a banker or any other person commanding considerable local influence to collect the revenue successfully. But the revenue-farming in *khalsa* land was generally disapproved by the Mughal emperors and on the whole the practice was very limited. However, the relevant evidence indicates that revenue farming of *khalsa* lands became very common in the first half of the 18th century, especially after the death of Bahadur Shah and as the centure wore on the practice became the most dominant feature of land revenue system of the Mughal Empire. It was accompanied by certain developments which contributed to the worsenning of the agrarian crisis which had already set in the closing years of the 17th century. Whereas the practice gave rise to a new class of intermediaries, as the collecting agency for the land revenues, it adversely affected the interests of hereditary intermediaries, known as *zamindars*, and of all those who had some claim or title of land. At the same time it progressively weakened the financial stability of the State. For these reasons it is necessary to investigate the nature of the institution and note its origin and development under

arrangement. It tended to enrich the ijarahdari at the cost of the peasant and zamindar and in case the exactions of the ijarahdar ruined the cultivation and the peasant it meant a progressive decline in the revenues of the government. An examination of the relevant evidence, which immediately follows, will substantially confirm the points made in the above lines.

Ijarah was a well known practice in the land revenue administration under the Sultans of Delhi but it fell into disrepute under Sher Shah and Akbar. It cropped up again in the reign of Jahangir,[1] and became quite wide spread in the course of the 17th century. We know that certain mahals in Bengal were obtained by the Portuguese on ijarah in the reign of Shahjahan.[2] Sadiq Khan's account indicates that in the reign of Shahjahan the practice of ijarah was wide-spread and in fact brought ruin to the large parts of the Empire.[3] The evidence described in the above lines is indirectly confirmed by a passage contained in the Nigar Nama-i-Munshi. The work contains a farman issued to Rasik Das Karori in the 8th regnal year of Aurangzeb, which contains a number of instructions for preparing the revenue records. One of them enjoins the local administration to note the number of revenue-farmers and cultivators in every village.[4] The inference is that the ijarahdars were to be

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1. Nishan No.3(Jaipur Archives); J.Xavier tr.Hosten J.A.S.B.N.S. XXII, 1927, p.121.
2. Amal-i-Saleh, I, p.496
3. Sadiq Khan Or., 174. f.11a
4. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi ff. 129-131

found in every pargana, if not in every village of the Empire. An examination of the contents of the farman reveals that it was the first general statement of the land revenue policy of the Emperor after his accession. The conditions and practices noted in the farman cannot be ascribed particularly to the reign of Aurangzeb and can best be read as the administrative legacy of the former reign. Thus the wide-spread practice, suggested in the farman, was not a new development, but a practice which was inherited from the reign of Shahjahan.

For the remaining years of Aurangzeb's reign the evidence on the subject is somewhat conflicting. We can trace in them, on the one hand, the attempt to do away with the practice or at least to curtail it to a degree which could not affect the working of the land revenue administration to any appreciable extent. On the other hand, there are indications that the practice of ijarah continued inspite of the standing orders to the contrary. The first orders which seeks to forbid the practice of ijarah in khalsa and jagir lands was issued in the year 1087 A.H./1676 A.D. and is available in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi We are told that the practice of farming out land to the Chaudharis and Muqaddams in the province of Ahmadabad was reported to the Emperor It was pointed out in the report that the practice entailed a lot of injustice and oppression to the ryots. The Emperor disapproved of the practice and issued an order to put a check to the practice. The order issued to the provincial Diwan laid down that no one should obtain ijarah rights in khalsa and jagir lands and that the Diwan should issue necessary orders to the Amins for necessary action.[1] An

1. Mirat-i-Ahmadi I p.292

other order, entitled "About Prohibiting Ijarah" is available in the *Nigar Nama-i-Munshi*. It is not dated nor a probable date can be ascribed to it except that it relates to the reign of Aurangzeb. It recounts the royal regulation to the effect that the Amins and Karoris of *khalsa* lands should not farm out villages in the parganas entrusted to them to any of their relations, to the government servants and to the Chaudharis, so that the owners of the village could properly manage their affairs and pay the land revenue. However, the regulation provided that a deserted village or a village inhabited by extremely poor cultivators could be farmed out and the assessed *jama* was to be collected according to the conditions laid down in the agreement. The permission to farm out such a village was, however, qualified by two conditions: first the consent of the owner had to be obtained, secondly it was to be farmed out to a person who was neither a government servant nor a Chaudhari.[1]

The evidence in our authorities, described in the above lines, deserves an examination. It will be noted that the order, contained in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, was meant to be applied for both the *khalsa* and *jagir* lands but the order available in the *Nigar Nama-i-Munshi* specifically refers to the measures to be taken in *Khalsa* lands. Again while the order contained in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* precludes any provision for revenue-farming under any circumstances the order contained in the *Nigar Nama-i-Munshi* provides for a limited permission to farm out land in *khalsa* lands subject to certain conditions.

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1. *Nigar Nama-i-Munshi* p. 149

It provides for revenue farming of the villages where the _jama_ had considerably decreased. That the provision was actually put into practice is confirmed by another evidence contained in the same work. An order on an application seeking two or three villages on _ijarah_ rights requires the local administration to find out such villages which were deserted or fallen out of cultivation and farm out the same against a fixed _jama_.[1] Thus we can reasonably presume that although it was the general policy of the Revenue Ministry to disapprove and check the practice of revenue-farming in the routine course of administration it granted a limited permission for the practice under special circumstances. However, it appears that the Revenue Ministry strongly resented the practice of revenue-farming in favour of the governments servants, Chaudharis and Muqaddams and saw to it that such a practice was discontinued.

This appears to be policy of the Revenue Ministry about the practice of _ijarah_. However, relevant evidence relating to a period subsequent to the year 1676 A.D. indicates that practice of revenue farming continued inspite of the standing orders to the contrary issued in 1676 A.D. The _Farhang-i-Kardani_, a work compiled in 1090 A.H./1679 A.D. contains a form of _qabuliat_ (deed of agreement) on behalf of the revenue-farmers for the payment of assessed _jama_ for the pargana leased out to them in _ijarah_ rights. The note attached

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1. _Nigar Nama-i-Munshi_ p.149

to the document adds that it was the practice of the Amin and Karori to lease out certain villages in ijarah rights.[1] The evidence under reference suggests that in the closing years of the 1670's ijarah was a well recognised practice in the land revenue administration. We have earlier examined the orders forbidding the practice of ijarah in some detail. The conflicting evidence can be explained away only if we presume that the order contained in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi dealt with a specific situation in Gujrat in the year 1676 A.D. and that the order contained in the Nigar-Nama-i-Munshi represents the legal position of the practice in a more comprehensive form, as it makes necessary provision for revenue-farming under special circumstances. The evidence contained in the Farhang-i-Kardani represents only such a case where land could be farmed out within the frame-work of the regulation laid down in the order contained in the Nigar Nama-i-Munshi Whatever might have been the legal position of the practice whether it conformed to the regulation or was a violation against it the fact remains that revenue-farming continued even subsequent to the year 1676 A.D. We read elsewhere that in the year 1100 A.H./1688 A.D. the village Hisampur in Pargana Palul was held in ijarah rights.[2] We find Rani Hadi, the widow of Maharaja Jaswant Singh, imploring for the grant of certain parganas as jagir. In case her request could not be conceded for one reason or another she requested that the said parganas might be leased out to her in ijarah rights.[3]

~~1. Later Mughals, I, p.335~~

1. Farhang-i-Kardani, 35 a.
2. Durrul-Ulum f.65
3. Waqa-i-Sarkar Ajmer, p.95

For the first half of the 18th century the relevant evidence relates to the reign of Farrukh Siyyar and Muhammad Shah. It appears that strict rules and regulations for business in all department were much neglected since the reign of Jahandar Shah.[1] However under Farrukh Siyyar the entire administration was thrown into confusion, and the evil practice of ijarah was encouraged and patronised by those who were at the helm of affairs. According to Shakir Khan, Sadiq Khan never farmed out the lands. After his removal from the office the evil practice of ijarah was introduced by Ratan Chand, the Diwan of Abdullah Khan, the Wazir. It brought ruin to a large number of people.[2] We learn elsewhere that Farrukh Siyyar had developed a deep rooted animosity against Abdullah Khan. One of the grievances against the Wazir was that whenever he appointed an Amil he took from the appointee an undertaking (خط آبهر) and realised the money from his banker. Farrukh Siyyar saw in the practice the cause for the ruin of the country for which the appointment was made under such conditions. The Emperor pointed out that the innovation would lead to the ruin of the country and therefore it should be given up and that the Amil should be appointed as the regular servant of the government fully accountable for the collections made by him. Abdullah Khan, however, did not agree with the suggestion. We are told by Khafi Khan that Ratan Chand interfered with the affairs of the Revenue Ministry

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1. Later Mughals, I, p.335
2. Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani, f.58a

to an extent that the Diwan-i-Tan and Diwan-i-Khalsa were relegated to an extremely subordinate position and the khalsa parganas were leased out in ijarah like the sale of a commodity bringing lacs of rupees to Ratan Chand. This practice increased the ill-willof the Emperor towards Sayyid Abdullah Khan.[1]

The evil practice of ijarah continued unabated till the middle of the 18th century. When Nizam-ul-Mulk assumed the Wizarat (1721) he examined the working of the revenue administration in some detail. He drew up a comprehensive scheme for introducing necessary reforms in the land revenue administration. One ofhis main proposal was to abolish the practice of revenue-farming in khalsa land which had ruined the country.[2] The proposed reforms were approved by the Emperor and it was hoped that land revenue administration would be soon reorganised on a sound footing. But the proposed reforms hit the vested interest very hard and they retaliated before they found themselves helpless against the person who had set himself against corruption and nepotims. They succeeded in alienating the Emperor from the Wazir and he had to leave Delhi in 1723. The administrative importance of the issue can be judged from the fact that a reconciliation between the Wazir and the Emperor could be effected only if the former acceeded to the implementation of the proposed reform for abolishing the evil practice of ijarah.[3]

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1. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, II p. 773
2. Ibid p. 948
3. Irvine II p.136

There is some evidence to show that the practice of farming out khalsa and jagir lands continued during the remaining years of Muhammad Shah's reign. We read elsewhere that Ali Muhammad Khan Ruhela obtained a number of mahals in ijarah from ease loving jagirdars and careless Wazir.[1] Two documents contained in the Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas indicate that revenue-farming of khalsa and jagir lands was a well established practice in the reign of Muhammad Shah.[2] The arzdasht of Sobah Singh zamindar contained in the same work indicates the presence of moneyed ijarahdars. in his tāluqah[3]. The evidence under reference directly confirms the evidence contained in other sources examined by us and gives a real insight into the working of the ijarahdari system. It appears that the head of the local land revenue administration had charged Sobah Singh zamindar with failure to pay land revenue which established against him a clear case of insubordination and hostility to the government. In the arzdasht, referred to, the zamindar refutes the charges levelled against him and while reviewing the agrarian conditions obtaining in his taluqah criticises the role of ijarahdars and lays down concrete proposal for a fair assessment of land revenue. He refers to the former days of prosperity and good administration and adds that for the last four or five years the moneyed farmers, inexperienced and indifferent to the prosperity of the country had come down to his tāluqah from the head quarters. They were primarily interested in exacting the maximum of land revenue and aimed at the ruin

1. Seir-ul-Mutākhirin III p.854
2. Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas ff. 68,69
3. Ibid ff.51,52

of the country and the ryots. For these reasons, it would appear from the arzdasht, Sobah Singh had made up his mind to compete with the farmers and engaged for the oppressing land revenue demand. He tried to face the situation to the last limits of his resources but he was driven to extreme helplessness on account of the progressive unfair increase in the land revenue demand. Ultimately he gave way and withdrew from the contest. We can read between the lines that the country was ruined and the farmers had left the district. The head of the local administration was again compelled to settle the terms with the hereditary zamindar.

The evidence in our authorities described in the lines above gives a farily good idea of the extent of the practice and its effects on the social and economic life of the country. We can reasonably suggest that the practice of revenue- farming had become very common and widespread in the reign of Farrukh Siyyar and that it continued to be so till the middle of the 18th century. The unusual development of the practice of ijarah on such a large scale affected the working of land revenue administration adversely and weakened its stability still further. It gave rise to a class of bankers and speculators who invested their money in the business of the revenue-farming and thus emerged as a class of intermediary apart from the hereditary zamindars. The new class of ijarahdars generally came from the cities and proved to be a constant source of danger to the interests of the zamindars. The rise of the new class of intermediary, which was a super-imposition from the above, created artificial

conditions for a keen competition to engage for a land revenue demand which exceeded the normal _jama_. The settlement was made with the the highest bidder and this practice tended to the continued increase in the _jama_ figures for the revenue settlement. The class of hereditary _zamindars_ was thus faced with an untenable position whether he outbade the _ijarahdar_ or withdrew from the contest he could not escape his ruin either way. In case he engaged for an exorbitant land revenue demand he could save little for himself unless he transferred the burden to the peasants and indulged in callous rackrenting. But the latter course would bring ruin to the peasants and the village would be deserted. To withdraw from the contest meant an immediate loss of his livelihood. Thus the total effect of the wide-spread practice of revenue farming was the ruin of a large number of ancient hereditary _zamindars_. It was under these agrarian conditions that a new class of _zamindars_ replaced the ancient hereditary _zamindars_. Faced with extreme financial difficulties many of the _zamindars_, who were outbidden by the _ijarahdars_, were compelled to sell their _zamindari_ rights to those who could pay for it.[1] Naturally the wealthy among the neighbouring _zamindars_ and the bankers from the city availed of the opportunity and these sales of _zamindaris_ considerably affected the social and economic complexion of rural Hindustan. The rich and powerful neighbouring _zamindars_ engaged themselves in craving out their States or _talucas_,[2] whereas the city bankers emerged as the

1. An examination of the sale deeds of _zamindaris_, preserved in the State Records Office at Allahabad indicates that the _zamindaris_ were sold on a large scale in the first half of the eighteenth century.

2. Cf. Like the great _zamindars_ of Bengal the original possession of many of the _Talukdars_ in the Western Provinces seems to be more easy to trace them to their origin as farmers of Government revenue Revenue Selections p.59.

absentee land lords. Thus the social and economic stability of rural India was seriously disturbed and it could be resorted only when the Britishers took over the administration of the country in the second half of the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th century.

The effects of the ijarahdari system on the peasantry were even worse. Whether the settlement was made with the ijarahdar or with the zamindar, the conditions of artificial competition invariably tended to increase the land revenue, and ultimately the burden fell on the peasantry. We have noted that our authorities bitterly complain of the ruin of the entire people of the country except the bankers.[1] The evidence contained in the chronicles compiled at the capital or at provincial headquarters is directly confirmed by the Zamindar Sobah Singh who was an eye witness to the ruin brought to the peasants and the country-side by the greedy farmers. Thus we can suggest that the cause of the poverty and distress of the peasantry is not to be sought in the magnitude of the land revenue demand but in the practice of ijarah which created artificial condition of competition among the ijarahdars and the hereditary zamindars and ultimately led to the settlement of the land revenue demand which was excessive and incompatible with the paying capacity of an assessment unit. The burden of the increased land revenue demand was, however, distributed among the peasants and it meant a more intensive exploitation of the peasantry.

It remains to investigate the effects of the revenue farming on

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1. We are told by Khafi Khan that the people of the country belonging to every class hated Sayyid Brothers and Ratan Chand who patronised only the Sayyids of Barah and the baqqals (bankers) Muntakhab-ul-Lubab. II p. 902.

the land revenue administration and on the State treasury. The widespread practice of *ijarah* hardly left any room for the regular servants of the State who were employed for the detailed assessment and collection of land revenue. It meant a loss of jobs to a class of people who had specialised themselves in the work of land revenue administration and at the same time it denoted the complete breakdown of the administrative machinery at the pargana level which was so assiduously built up by the Mughal Emperors since the days of Akbar. The practice of *ijarah* also resulted in the loss of revenues to the public treasury. The intense exploitation of the peasantry coupled with unstable agrarian conditions brought ruin to the cultivation and the villages were deserted. The oppressed peasantry took refuge in the nearby *zamindaris* which were owned by powerful *zamindars* and who openly defied the authority of the State, neglected the payment of land revenue and paid only when a powerful noble led an expedition against them. Thus although the settlement of revenue demand at the highest bid might bring some more money to the public treasury for a few years, ultimately it led to the complete loss of revenues from such areas which were leased out to the speculative *ijarahdars*. The fact was recognised by the contemporary historians and the administrators. Even the puppet Emperor Farrukh Siyyar resented the practice strongly and did his best to stop the evil practice. But his voice of opposition was stifled by the vested interests headed by Ratan Chand. Later on Nizam-ul-Mulk, as we have noted, attached greatest importance to the abolition of the practice for any workable reorganisation

of the land revenue administration. However, his scheme of comprehensive reforms, including the abolition of revenue farming, hit the vested interests very hard. They retaliated and proved strong enough to compell the Wazir to leave his office. It may be argued that the demand for the abolition of revenue farming on the part of the Emperor Farrukh Siyyar indicated nothing more than the whim and caprice of a weak mind, incapable of grasping the real facts of land revenue administration. Similarly, Nizam-ul-Mulk was a dreamer when he contemplated his scheme of the comprehensive reforms. It could be pointed out that the material conditions of land revenue administration were such that no tangible reforms could be successfully implemented. Such an assumption may be based on the ground that the khalsa lands were considerably decreased and it was accompanied with a corresponding decrease in the income of the public treasury. By farming out khalsa lands to the highest bidder the maximum of the revenues could be drawn to the public exchequer which hardly enjoyed the financial stability to meet the expenses earmarked against it. In other words, it was a measure of expediency to meet the abnormal condition in the land revenue administration. However, an examinations of the available facts hardly lends any support to the contention. We have noted that the measure of expediency continued to weaken the financial stability of the State on account of progressive decrease in the income which resulted from the ruin of the cultivation and peasantry on an unprecedented scale. Thus the introduction of the practice of ijarah cannot be described as a successful and wise measure of expediency. In fact, the evil practice owed its origin and development to the

greed and selfishness of the rich bankers and speculators, who wanted to exploit the poeple and the State for their own highly objectionable ends. They conspired with the corrupt Ratan Chand and bought his patronage for enormous sums which was divided between Ratan Chand and his greedy but inefficient masters. Thus the wide spread practice of ijarah was introduced to serve the interests of the class of bankers, the Wazir and his Diwan Ratan Chand. Neither there was any administrative or fiscal justification for the introduction of the practice nor the material conditions in the land revenue system made it indispensable. It can be best described as usurpation and loot on the part of a class which neither had any interest in the soil nor was fit or capable of making any contribution to the administrative system of the country. Therefore the revenue-farming and the class of ijarahdars were an ugly and undesirable imposition on the rural economy of the country by a person who had come at the helm of affairs by the irony of chance. A careful analysis of the conditions obtaining in the land revenue administration in the period under our study will show that the abolition of the practice was the need of the hour. Even if the proposed reform would have proved a failure it was worth trying. It would have checked and not accellerated the process of disintegration of the land revenue administration which came in the wake of the revenue-farming. To conclude the practice of ijarah brought ruin to those who had some interest in the land and resulted in the progressive loss of revenue to the public treasury Those who were responsible for it were traitor to the sovereign, to the State and to the people.

CHAPTER V

ZAMINDAR AND ZAMINDARI

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The institution of zamindari under the Mughals has received scanty attention from the students of Mughal agrarian history. Moreland has devoted a few pages to the evolution of the class of intermediaries under Aurangzeb and his successors.[1] But the study is brief and no attempt has been made to investigate the character and types of zamindaris and the functions, rights and privileges appertaining to them. Many questions about the institution have remained unanswered and the most important among them is the nature and position of the zamindar who paid land revenue (mal-wajib and malguzari) and not fixed tribute or quit rent (pesh-kash). Moreland's study suggests that the word 'zamindar' under the great Mughals signified a Hindu chief and that in the 18th century some Muslims had also acquired the same status and position and were called zamindars.[2] According to Dr.Saran the word 'zamindar' signified a vassal chief and that the zamindars could be classified in different ranks and categories.[3] Thus the studies so far made have paid no attention to the various questions relating to those zamindars who paid land revenue. However, the evidence contained in the Ain and in a number of other documents, covering the period from Akbar to Muhammad Shah, indicate the presence of such zamindars in almost all the mahals of the imperial territory.

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1. The Moslem Agrarian System pp 150-155
2. Ibid p.153
3. The Provincial Government of the Mughals pp.111,113.

An attempt is made in these pages to examine and correlate the relevant evidence and reconstruct the picture of the institution of zamindari under the Mughals.

Various types of zamindars:

In the chronicles the word zamindar is generally used for a raja or Hindu chief. These zamindars or rajas could be divided into more than one category. In the first place were the zamindars or rajas who recognised the overlordship of the Mughal emperor and this recognition generally took the form of putting the Mughal currency into circulation within their own territories. However it appears that they enjoyed a special status among the vassal chiefs as they were exempted from any military or financial obligation.[1] Secondly, were those zamindars who acknowledged the overlordship of the emperor and were allowed to retain their principalities provided they paid a fixed tribute.[2] But these zamindars did not hold any regular mansabs.[3] Lastly came those who held their territories in lieu of the salary against their mansabs and were subject to regulations laid down for branding and verification.[4] Under special circumstances a zamindar holding a mansab could be exempted from these regulations but he was required to join a provincial governor in an expedetion with a fixed number of sawars.[5]

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1. The Provincial Government Of the Mughals pp.114,133,136
2. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Supp, pp.190,229,230
3. Ibid pp. 224,226,228, Mirat I p.229
4. Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri p.119
5. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I pp.174,284,285

Apart from these zamindars, described above, there was a class of people in almost every mahal of the imperial territory which had certain interests and rights in land and was entered into the revenue records as zamindar. These zamindars paid land revenue determined on the basis of the holdings of individual peasants or on the village as a whole. This class of zamindars was most numerous and owned land in hereditary right. Its interest in land was real and vital and it wa this class of zamindars which occupied the pivotal position in the agrarian system of the country. To be more precise we would be referring to this class of zamindars as the village zamindar. Lastly, mention should be made of those zamindars who had no hereditary interest or claim in land but were appointed as zamindars by virtue of a royal order. They had to pay land revenue and thus were on a par with the village zamindar, with the difference that no right of inheritance attached to their zamindaris.[1]

The Village Zamindar under the Great Mughals:

The important and numerous class of the village zamindars appears to have been passed unnoticed by historians. This omission can be traced to a faulty rendering of the Ain in English and the misleading arrangement of the provincial statistics in the printed text. The translation and the printed text suggest that the castes mentioned in the schedules for each mahal refer to the population inhabiting that mahal. On the other hand an examination of the statistical account contained in a manuscript preserved in the Lytton Library, Muslim University, Aligarh,[2] reveals that the schedules giving the

1. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas pp. 88-89, Akhbarat, 44/142

2. Ain-i-Akbari, Abul Fazl, Lytton Library, Sulaiman, 636/14

statistical account of each pargana contains a number of columns with headings such as measured area, dami, siyurghal, bumi and zamindar. The castes in various mahals have been entered under the head zamindar. The evidence is too self-evsident to make necessary a detailed argument to prove that Abul Fazl is recording the various castes who held the position and title of zamindar in their respective mahals. To argue that the castes inhabiting the various mahals have been recorded will carry hardly any weight when we consider that the entire population of a mahal could not belong to one single community or in certain cases to two or three communities. Again the castes recorded in the schedules, with a few exceptions, usually belong to the high castes among the Hindus and the Muslims, who never formed the peasantry. In case we assume that a certain mahal was entirely inhabited by the Thakurs or Sayyids the question naturally arises as to who tilled the soil? We know for certain that usually the land was tilled by the low castes Hindus, untouchables or Muslims converts from the lower strata of the Hindu society, for their masters, Hindus or Muslims. Hence the inference that the castes entered into the schedules refer to the population of the mahal hardly fits it with the facts of agrarian life and those of the revenue history of the period. Thus we can conclude that the schedules record the castes of the zamindars in the various mahals of the imperial territory. The examination of the statistical account also show that the zamindars are not recorded only in the outlying provinces of the Empire but in the heart of it, namely the region from Lahore to Allahabad. These

mahals have not been described either as *ghair amali* or as *qarar-i-naqdi*, which have been taken to indicate the presence of a chief in an area so described.[1] Moreover *siyurghal* lands are also generally given for these parganas. These considerations rule out the possibility of identifying these *zamindars* with vassal chiefs. Again the revenue history of the period –– the conversion of the bulk of the imperial territory into *khalsa*, the appointment of revenue officials at the pargana level, and the detailed instructions to the Amil about the assessment and collection of land revenue–– strongly vitiates the hypothesis that almost all the *mahals* of the imperial territory were under the vassal chiefs who paid tribute.

Thus the evidence in the *Ain* clearly suggests that the *zamindars* could be found in almost all the *mahals* of the imperial territory and that these *zamindars* were not vassal chiefs. We can also infer from the relevant evidence in the *Ain* and the *Akbar Nama* that the lands under these zamindars whether in *khalsa* or in *jagir* were subject to detailed assessment and as such they paid land revenue. The one important difference between the ordinary vassal chief and an ordinary *zamindar* lay in the fact that the former paid fixed tribute or quit rent while the latter paid land revenue or *mal-i-wajib*.

The evidence in the *Ain* and the *Akbar Nama* does not help us to draw any further inferences and we will have to looke elsewhere

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1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* Supplement, pp.191,192,202,203,205,207,209; Provincial Administration of the Mughals, pp. 311-317; Akbar's Land Revenue System as Described in the *Ain*, Moreland and Yusuf Ali, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, pp.31-36.

to form a more comprehensive picture of the position and rights of these zamindars. Fortunately, a document of Akbar's reign,preserved in the U.P.States Records Office, Allahabad, throws considerable light on some of the questions under our examination. The document referred to is a sale-deed dated 994 A.H.1585 A.D. and affirms the transfer of the proprietary rights of the entire village Jarha, in Pargana Sandila, in Awadh, to Mian Amman, son of Adhan, against a sum of Rs.1,568/-. The sale-deed was executed on behalf of Narain, Asa, Nakkhu, Bhakkan and others who belonged to the Brahman caste. The proprietary rights in land have been referred to as satarhi and biswai.[1] In another document of the same period of the proprietary rights have been referred to as milk.[2] These terms also occur in the documents[3] of a later period and have been used as equivalent to milkiyat-i-zamindari. A document of Shahjahan's reign dated 1060 A.H./1649 A.D. records the agreement in a dispute over the proceeds from muqaddami and biswai commonly known as satarhi[4] between the parties in the villages of Karnal, Chaura and Abdulpur.[5] For the reign of Aurangzeb we learn from a document that village Patwaripur Maitun in Pargana Sanida, in Awadh, was held in zamindari right by Mohammad Sharif.[6] We learn from another document dated 1110 A.H./1698 A.D., that the village Kadori, in pargana Sanidla, in Awad, was inherited in milkiyat or satarhi rights by a number of co-sharers and that the

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1. Allahabad Documents No.317
2. Ibid, No.319
3. Ibid Nos.219,224,370,375,418,435
4. Biswai, satarhi and milkiyat were used as synonyms for zamindari rights.
5. Ibid No.295
6. Ibid No.375, dated 1072 A.H./1661 A.D.

village was sold against Rs.600/-.[1] The *zamindari* of three villages including Calcutta was purchased for the East India Company who were designated as the *tāluqahdar* of the said villages and were required to pay the malwajib or land revenue of Rs.1,194/-. The transaction was duly reported to the provincial Diwan and he approved of it by issuing a *parwanah*.[2] Still later a document dated 1141 A.H./1728 A.D. records the sale of *biswas* or shares in a number of villages by the co-sharers who are designated as *zamindars*[3]. In a document of the late 18th century *milkiyat-i-zamindari* is used as equivalent to *satarhi*.[4] From a document most probably belonging to 1730's we learn that Sobah Singh the Zamindar of Jhangar in Sarkar Sambhal, had requested the Amil to assess his *tāluqah* on the basis of *zamanah deh salah* after making necessary deductions for his *nankar* and *deh yak* rights.[5]

An examination of the evidence given above brings out the following points:-

1. *Biswai* or *satarhi* rights, in essence constituted the proprietary rights in land and such rights were hereditary and could be sold.
2. *Milkiyat-i-zamindari* or zamindari rights constituted the proprietary rights in land. They were hereditary and could be sold.
3. The shares in the proprietary rights of a village were known as *biswas* and the persons who held these rights were known as *zamindars*.

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1. Allahabad Documents No. 435
2. Add. 6603 ff.36ab, Add 24039 ff 36ab, 39a and c
3. Allahabad Documents No. 220
4. Ibid No.325
5. *Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas* ff. 51-52

4. Later documents suggest that satarhi and biswai were used in the sense of milkiyati zamindari or zamindari
5. The word zamindar has been used in a number of documents for those who held villages in zamindari rights and had to pay land revenue or mal-i-wajib to the government officer officer or the jagirdar.[1]

Thus the evidence clearly suggests that the persons who sold the village Jarha held the village in biswai or zamindari rights and could be designated as zamindars. These facts when read together with the evidence in the Ain of the presence, in almost every mahal of the imperial territory, of zamindars who were not vassal chiefs paying fixed tribute, lends strong support to the inference that these zamindars may be identified with those we meet in the documents belonging to the reigns of Akbar and Aurangzeb. These zamindars, in order to be more precise, can be designated as village zamindars. We can conclude by saying that the village zamindars could be found in almost all the mahals of the imperial territory, that they were not vassal chiefs but held proprietary rights in land and paid land revenue to the State. We will examine the position, rights and obligations of the village zamindars when we meet them in the 18th century

Village Zamindar in the 18th Centrury

Our sources for the study of the institution of zamindari in the first half of the 18th century.comprise a number ofdocuments

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1. Waqa-i-Sarkar Ajmer pp. 88-89

preserved in the U.P.State Records Office Allahabad, and the relevant evidence contained in the *Mirat-ul-Istilah* by Anand Ram Mukhlis and in the *Dastur-ul-amal Baikas*. The evidence contained in these sources together with the relevant evidence in the works compiled in the last quarter of the 18th century and early years of 19th century, help us to construct a fairly intelligible picture of the institution in the period under our study.

According to Anand Ram Mukhlis, who was attached to the court of Mohammad Shah, the word *zamindar* originally signified one who possessed land but in his own day it denoted a person who owned land in a village or town and carried on cultivation.[1] In a work compiled in the last quarter of the 18th century in an answer to a querry as to who was the owner of the land king or *zamindar*, we are told that in ancient times the owners of land, in every part of the country, were rajas and *zamindars*. Since the reign of Timur Shah(perhaps the author refers to the establishment of the Mughal empire) the owner of the land had been the king and the power to appoint a *zamindar* and to deprive him of his *zamindari* vested in the king. As to the power and authority of the *zamindar*, we are told, it owed its origin to his *zamindari* right over the cultivators, who tilled the land, and that the *zamindari* rights consisted of *nankar*, he was granted for his services rendered in connection with the cultivation of

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1. *Mirat-ul-Istilah* f.122 b.

of land by the cultivators.[1] Elsewhere in a work compiled in the 19th century for the benefit of the British officers, the *zamindar* has been defined as one who looked after the land (نگہبان زمین)[2]. With the advent of Islam, we are told in the same work, such persons were designated as *zamindars*. The land was divided into shares and each one of the *zamindars* was granted a *sanad* as well as *nankar*. A *zamindar* was entitled to sell his *zamindari*. In case he was found guilty of some offence the king was empowered to take away his *zamindari* and transfer it to some one else. However, this power could not be exercised by Subahdars and nobles. The *zamindars* were granted certain rights[3] and perquisites known as *nankar*[4], *sair* *chauth* and *malikanah*.[6]

A careful examination of the evidence just described will reveal that the *zamindars* referred to in our sources cannot be identified with vassal chiefs or rajas as they neither paid fixed tribute nor held *mansabs*. On the other hand they seem to have been actively engaged in the work of cultivation and had immediate contacts with peasants. For their endeavours in connection with the cultivation of land and their rights in land they were granted certain perquisites such as *nankar* and *malikanah*. These facts clearly establish that for the revenue authorities the word zamindar, in the 18th century, signified the village *zamindar*, whereas the chronicles still used it in the sense of vassal

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1. Add 19504, f.100a.
2. Add 6603, f.65 a
3. Add 6603, f.65 a.
4. A commission of 10% for services rendered in connection with cultivation of land (Add 19054, f.100 a.)
5. *Zamindar's* share of 1/4th in the collections made under the head *sair* or taxes other than land revenue (Add 6603 f.65 a)
6. The fixed commission of 10% for *zamindars'* proprietary right in land, which was fixed either in cash or kind; also known *do-biswai* *dah yak* and *do-bisti* (Add 6603 f.65; 77 ab) cf.Selections from the Revenue Records, p.5.

chief or raja. These definitions of the word zamindars are confirmed by the relevant evidence in other documents and administrative manuals of the period. Sobah Singh, the Zamindar of Jhangar, in Sarkar Sambhal, appears to be a typical village zamindar. His villages were duly assessed by the Amin, on the basis of past records; he paid the land revenue and was entitled to nankar and dah yak.[1] That the village zamindars were entitled to sell their land is confirmed by sale-deeds belonging to the reigns of Bahadur Shah and Mohammad Shah.[2] Thus the relevant evidence in the chronicles and revenune literature of the period strongly suggests that the village zamindar could be found in almost all the mahals of the imperial territory right from the days of Akbar and his rights and interests in land and his functions and perquisite continued to remain more or less the same in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Now we can examine the rights and duties of the village zamindar in greater detail. This evaluation of the rights and duties of the village zamindar will be based on the sources belonging to 17th 18th and 19th century. Our justification for utilisation of the earlier and later evidence lies in the fact that the village zamindar as indicated earlier, continued to occupy almost the same legal posi-

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1. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas, ff. 51-52

2. Allahabad Documents Nos. 224, 225, 370, 418, 299

tion in revenue administration under the Mughals and I have not been able to trace any evidence which might be adduced to indicate a break in the continuity of the zamindar's legal position. It is true that the village zamindars in different regions at different periods passed through many vicissitudes of fortune and in particular the wide-spread practice of ijarah in the first half of the 18th century proved to be the ruin of many ancient families of the zamindars. However, as to their legal position as zamindars and their perquisites and obligations as such I have not been able to trace any important changes.

Position of the Village Zamindar.

The village zamindar formed the most numerous class among the subjects of the State who had some rights and interests in land and were designated as zamindars. Under the given conditions of time the village zamindar was regarded as indispensable for the smooth working of the revenue administration in the bulk of the imperial territory. The revenue administration dealt with him in his two-fold position of a subject having proprietary right in land and as an intermediary who collected the land revenue assessed by the government officers and saw to it that the village was cultivated to its utmost capacity. It appears that the law fully recognised the dual position, quite independently of each other and a village zamindar did not lose his perquisites arising from his proprietary zamindari rights in land if he chose not to engage for the assessed land revenue.[1] It was this

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1. A village zamindar was entitled to malikana even if he did not engage for payment of land revenue.
   Revenue Selections p.5; Mirat-i- Ahmadi I p.268

peculiar position enjoyed by the *zamindar* that raised his status from a mere intermediary, such as that of the farmer, for collecting the assessed land revenue, and it was this element which gave a semblance of continuity to the institution of *zamindari*. However, the *zamindar* remained at the same time an intermediary as he engaged for collection and payment of the land revenue assessed on the cultivated land in his *zamindari*. Such an assessment was made on the basis of the individual holdings of the peasants and therefore the village *zamindars* were also known as the *zamindaran-i-riyyati* as opposed to the *zamindaran-i-zortalab*[1], who often defied the authority of the State and paid fixed tribute only under compulsion of being subdued by the State army. Lastly it is important to note that a village *zamindar* was also a peasant in as much as he hired labourers to till his fields and this gave him an abiding interest in and attachment to the soil and the village he lived in. The fact that he was also a peasant is to be given due consideration if one is to understand the rural economy and the relations it established between the various groups having some interest in land. It would be an error leading to much confusion if the village *zamindars* were identified with the absentee land-lords interested primarily in extorting the maximum from their *zamindaris*.

Rights and Perquisites:

As we have noted above the most important functions of the village zamindar were two-fold, namely to ensure the cultivation of

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1. *Hidayat-ul-Qawanin* ff. 64-66

all cultivable land in his *zamindari* and the collection of assessed land revenue. In recognition for these services rendered to the State the *zamindar* was granted certain perquisites known as *nankar* or subsistance allowance. It denoted the land granted to the *zamindar* for cultivation and personal subsistance allowance.[1] In fact it was a commission on the total collections and could be paid either in the fo form of land or in cash. *Nankar* elsewhere has been defined as a grant of two *biswas* in *bigha* for services rendered in connection with the cultivation of land and in certain provinces it consisted of a commission of 5% on the collections.[2] Besides the *nankar* the *zamindar* received something (چیزی) for his proprietary rights in land when it was brought under cultivation. The proceeds for his proprietary rights[3] were known as *malikanah*.[4] The form of payment and the percentage of proceeds differed from province to province. It was either a definite percentage of the area under cultivation or of the collections in cash or of the produce.[5] Besides these perquisites the proprietary right in *zamindari* was hereditary and it was distributed among the rightful heirs of the deceased *zamindar*.[6] Finally a village

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1. Add 6603 f. 79 b
2. Add 19504 f.100a
3. The payment to the *zamindar* for his proprietary rights was also known as *do-biswai* and *deh yak*. It denoted a commission of 2 *biswas* in each bigha. In case the land was tilled by the *zamindar* he was entitled to *nankar* but not to *malikana* perquisites. See Add 6603 f 51a. In *Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas* *zamindars* rights and perquisites are referred as *malikana* and *deh yak*. See *Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas* f.52
4. Add 6603 f.51 a.
5. Add 6603 ff.79 ab
6. Allahabad Documents Nos. 229, 435.

zamindar was entitled to sell his *zamindari* rights against a sum agreed upon between the vendor and the purchaser.[1]

Functions and Duties:

The village *zamindar* occupied an important position in the local revenue administration and his functions were manifold. In the first place he was required to see that all cultivable land in his *zamindari* was brought under cultivation.[2] He was in a position to pursuade or coerce the peasants to engage in cultivation. Under the given conditions of the time it was not possible for the government official or any other person who had no intimate contacts of long duration with the peasants, to pursuade them to till the soil as they would be disclined to trust a stranger who was interested only in the realisation of the maximum of land revenue from the village. But a village *zamindar* almost invariably a resident of village for generations, could not afford, under normal conditions, to ignore the interests of his fellow villagers who were associated with him in so many ways in the limited but compact life of a village. In fact his interest in land and prosperity of the village was real and vital. A prosperous village meant more money and comfort for him and in addition it secured for him the good will and loyal services of his tenants. Hence his services for the local administration were almost indispensible. In fact, the government realised the important role of the *zamindar* and he was constantly

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1. Allahabad Documents Nos. 317,319, (Akbar's reign), 375,435(Aurangzeb's reign) 225(Bahadur Shah's reign) Add 24039, ff.36ab 39a & c.

2. *Durrul-Ulum* ff. 61 b, 62 a, Add 24039 ff.36 ab 39 a & c

reminded of his duty to bring more land under cultivation and secure the good will of the ryots. His next important function was that of an intermediary to collect the assessed land revenue and remit it into the treasury. His role as the collecting agency was difficult and delicate. It required a great deal of tact and resourcefulness to secure an assessment which would be just to the peasants and fair to the State and at the same time to gain something for himself in the bargain.

In addition to these duties he also performed an important function in the maintenance of law and order. For example he was required to furnish information about a thief or miscreant suspected to be taking refuge in his zamindari.[1] He was also required to perform some military duty. He might be called upon to join a military expedition against a neighbouring zamindar who had been declared a rebel for non-payment of land revenue or for some other act of insubordination.[2]

Conditions in the 18th century:

The condition of a village zamindar in the first half of the 18th century was far from secure or satisfactory. It might have been different for those of the village zamindars who possessed a large number of villages, commanded sufficient man power and were in a position of strength to successfully meet the acts of oppression on the part of the Amil, jagirdar or ijarahdar. The Central Government

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1. Waqa-i-Sarkar Ajmer p.66
2. Dastur-ul-Amali Baikas ff. 55-58

had been gradually weakening and was too much occupied with other important affairs at the court, in Rajputana, or in the Panjab, to keep the various parties, who had some interest of permanent or temporary nature in land, within the limits laid down by the imperial regulations. In fact it often failed to suppress the unruly and defiant *zamindars* in the vicinity of the capital. Consequently it was not possible for the central government to give any serious attention to innumerable violation of the imperial regulations at the pargana level Thus it was generally left to the local authorities, the Amil, the Faujdar or the *jagirdar* to act at their own discretion and meet the situation with the resources at their immediate command. Normally no help from the centre could be expected to deal with a local situation and at the same time a local officer, in actual practice, was hardly accountable for his acts of oppression. Under such circumstances a powerful village *zamindar* was less liable to acts of oppression by the Amil or the Faujdar. If driven to extremity the *zamindar* could successfully defy the local authority. In fact, prudence tended to counsel the local officers to respect rather than coerce a powerful village *zamindar*. But the case was different for his less fortunate brothers who happened to be small *zamindars*, and who constituted the majority within the class. An unjust Amil or a hard-pressed *jagirdar* could hardly resist the temptation to overassess the land owned by a *zamindar*. The village *zamindar* naturally resisted any unjust increase in the land revenue. His just stand in refusing to engage for a land revenue more than the actual rent roll created the necessary conditions for the appearance of the rapacious *ijarahdar* on the

agrarian stage of the village. The village zamindar was thusdriven to an untenable position whether he engaged for an increased jama or vacated the village for the extortion of the ijarahdar. , under these conditions, hardly left with any alternative to save himself from ruin. If he engaged for the increased land revenue he was bound to transfer the burden of the revenue demand to the peasants who faced the alternatives either of being ruined or leaving the village. In a short time, the zamindar's village would be deserted. On the other hand vacating the village for the ijarahdar meant for the zamindar immediate loss of his livelihood except the meagre proceeds from the malikanah right. In this case too the peasant would ultimately be ruined and the village deserted. This was more or less the situation in which the majority of the village zamindars found themselves in the first half of the 18th century. This evaluation of the condition of the village zamindars based on the general evidence as to political and administrative conditions of the period is confirmed by evidence contained in the Dastur-ul-Amal-i Baikas. In the Dastur we find two letters exchanged between a government officer and Sobah Singh, the Zamindar of Jhangar, in Sarkar Sambhal. The revenue officer in his parwanah charges Sobah Singh with failure to pay land revenue and attributes the failure to his unruly conduct and hostile attitude towards the government. He threatens the zamindar with

military action. In the arzdasht the zamindar refutes the charges levelled against him and reviewing the agrarian conditions in his taluqah in the preceding years, criticises the role of the ijarahdars and lays down the proposal for a fair assessment of land revenue. The points made out in the arzdasht corroborate our analysis and therefore it deserves a detailed examination.

Sobha Singh asserts in the arzdasht[1] that his forefathers always rendered necessary services to the former hakims and were regular in the payment of the land revenue. They presented themselves whenever they were summoned by the officers and helped them to suppress the unruly and the mischievous. At the same time they protected the ryots from oppression and created among them a sense of security. The Amils, on their own part gave due recognition to the service rendered to them and appreciated the regular payment of land revenue. In these days the district was well governed and enjoyed peace and prosperity. For the last four or five years the moneyed farmers, inexperienced and indifferent to the propsperity of the country and the ryots, had reached the district from the pargana head-quarters. They were primarily interested in exacting the maximum of land revenue and aimed at ruining the country, and the ryots. For these reasons, it appears, Sobha Singh made up his mind to compete with the farmers and engaged for the oppressing revenue demand. He tried to face the situation to the limits of his resources. It appears that the revenue demand

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1. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas ff. 51-52

continued to increase and driven to extreme helplessness he gave way and withdrew from the contest. The arzdasht suggests that after sometime the farmers left the district and the Amil personally visited the villages of the district for a satisfactory reorganisation of the revenue arrangements. Now the Amil continues the arzdasht, had take the trouble to visit the country personally and had earned a reputation for being just and well-disposed towards the ryots. Sobha Singh was encouraged to come out and make contacts with the peasants of his taluqah and induced them to engage in cultivation and that inspite of scarcity conditions in the district he had succeeded in collecting the land revenue. However, the Amil had given, the arzdasht points out, no consideration to the fact that the zamindar was willing to pay the land revenue. On the other hand influenced by the manipulation of the interested persons, he had made up his mind to declare war upon the zamindar. Concluding his arzdasht the zamindar, requested the Amil to assess the jama for the taaluqah on the basis of mawaznah deh salah after making the necessary deductions for nankar and dah yak.[1] If his request met with favour he would be prepared to pay a visit to the Amil. However, if the Amil, under the influence of the selfish and the mischief mongers, had made up his mind otherwise the zamindar would be compelled to face the situation as it would develop. A zamindar, as might have been well known to the Amils could not leave his ancestral home, without giving a fight, as such a course of action would

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1. Dah Yak seems to be another name for malikanah or do biswai or or 1/10th. See Add 6603 f. 51 a.

compromise his honour. He hoped that justice would be done to him as he had explained the position faithfully.

An examination of the foregoing summary of the <u>arzdasht</u> reveals that the <u>zamindar</u> had withheld the payment of land revenue which established a clear case of insubordination or rebellion against him. The Amil wanted to treat the <u>zamindar</u> as a rebel if the latter failed to make immediate amendments for his conduct by paying off the land revenue and visiting the Amil. The <u>zamindar</u> admitted that the land revenue had not been paid but pointed out that the revenue demand made upon him was excessive and had been enormously increased during the last few years when his <u>taluqah</u> had come under the hold of <u>ijarahdars</u>. He was unable to outbid the latter and had withheld himself from engagement. He asserted that if a settlement was to be made with him the assessment of land revenue should be based upon the <u>mawaznah-i-dah salah</u> and he should be resorted to his <u>zamindari</u> rights Incidentally one also learn that the farming out of villages had ruined the cultivation and the peasantry and that the farmers, for one reason or other, had disappeared from the scene. The Amil had decided to deal with the <u>zamindar</u> who had persuaded the cultivators to bring the land under cultivation. The brief revenue history of the <u>taluqah</u>, as given in the <u>arzdasht</u>, is extremely revealing and can help us to draw certain important conclusions about the conditions that obtained in the first half of the 18th century. In the first place it confirms the evidence in other sources that the evil practice of <u>ijarah</u> had become quite wide-spread in the period under our study and that it invariably led to the ruin of the <u>zamindar</u> and the

peasantry and to the desolation of the land. Secondly, the village zamindar constantly stood in terror of the ijarahdar who on the one hand directly threatened his right to collect the revenue and on the other his presence could be utilised to coerce the zamindar to engage for an increased jama, which brought him to the village. In order to rehabilitate the village either the old zamindar had to be restored with the assurance of a fair assessment or a new zamindar had to be appointed. This practice became recurring feature of the agrarian life in the first half of the eighteenth century. The root of the evil could be traced back to the crisis in the jagirdari system which had been deepening since the last years of Aurangzeb's reign. The crisis in the jagirdari system was accompanied with the wide-spread practice of ijarah which was instrumental in the ruination of the zamindars and the peasantry, the two classes which had an abiding interest in the land. It must surely also have lowered the productivity of the country.

The above discussion of the condition of the village zamindar and the conclusions drawn on its basis are directly confirmed by an earlier writer who compiled his work on the existing administrative practices in the early 18th century. In his account of the zamindari system[1] the author says that in former days the government officers were just and kept to their pledges. Consequently the zamindars took interest in bringing land under cultivation and paid the land revenue

1. Hidayat-ul-Qawanin ff. 64-66

without making any complaints. But in his own days the *mansabdars* holding small ranks were appointed to high and responsible posts and they were provided with a small number of soldiers to carry on the work of revenue administration. Such a small contingent was inadequate to suppress and control ~~on~~ the powerful and unruly *zamindars*. The *mansabdars* in order to meet their expenditure wanted to increase the revenue demand every year and, therefore, they oppressed the small *zamindars*. The *zamindars*, in their own turn, oppressed the ryots. Driven to extremity they left the *riayyati* areas[1] and settled down in the territories which were under the *zamindars*, who paid the fixed tribute when compelled to do so by force. The territories under the vassal chiefs (زمینداران زورطلب), consequently were well populated and well-cultivated and the unruly *zamindars* day by day, increased in power and strength. The *riyyati zamindars* were weakened and were reduced to poverty. They could not pay land revenue and took recourse

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1. The passage summarised above refers to: ملک رعیتی - ملک زمینداران زورطلب - زمینداران رعیتی

   These phrases require some explanation. It appears that *mulk-i-riayyiti* signifies the areas or villages which were directly under the local revenue administration and in which the assessment was done on the basis of individual holdings of the ryots. *Mulk-i-zamindar-i-zortalab* indicates the territories which were under the *zamindars* who paid the fixed tribute only when compelled to do so by force. In such areas the local revenue administration did not assess the individual holdings of the peasants. Such areas in certain provinces were described as *ghair amali* and we learn from *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* that in the first half of the 18th century the vassal chiefs of the *ghair amali* areas paid the fixed tribute or *pesh kash* only when the Nazaim led an expedition against them. (See *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Supplement, pp.224,225). The term *zamindaran-i riayyati* signifies such of the *zamindars* who engaged for the land revenue assessed on the basis of individual holdings of the peasants. Such *zamindars* could be regarded as the village *zamindar*.

to false pretexts. The profession of the *zamindari*, therefore, fell into disrepute.

The Village Zamindar and the peasants:

We know very little about the relations between the village *zamindar* and the peasants. Unfortunately the chronicles and most of the administrative manuals furnish us with little information to reconstruct an intelligible picture of this relationship. However, a document, contained in the contemporary administrative manual entitled *Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas*, gives us some insight into the relationship that subsisted between the *zamindar* and the peasants. The manual reproduces the *muchilka* or undertaking given by the *zamindars* or the Muqaddams to the revenue officers. It may be summarised thus: [1]

1. That they had engaged for the estimated *jama* of the said amount, assessed on the basis of standing crops for the entire year and that they would collect the assessed *jama* from the individual peasants in accordance with entries showing the area under crops against them.
2. That they would not collect anything per bigha or per plough from the peasants except the land revenue.
3. That they would not cause any peasant of the village to leave it.
4. If for one reason or another, a peasant left the village they would collect the proceeds from his holdings and remit it to the treasury. The balance, whatever it might be, would be equally distributed over all the peasants.

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1. *Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas*, f.66

5. That they would conciliate the absconding peasant in the following year and resettle him in the village and pursuade him to cultivate his holdings.
6. If the peasant did not settle in the village his holdings would be divided among the <u>zamindars</u> and they would bring them under cultivation.
7. That they would not demand free services in ploughing their own fields more than the customary quota(زیاده از حساب).
8. And that they would in no way cause ruin to the ryots.

An examination of the undertaking given by the <u>zamindars</u> or Muqaddams reveals that the <u>zamindar</u> had no right to assess the individual peasants in his <u>zamindari</u>. The assessment was made by the assessing officer of the <u>jagirdar</u> or that of the <u>khalsa</u>. He was entrusted with collection of the revenue demand as shown against the individual peasants. The evidence summarised above also suggests that the <u>zamindar</u> collected some customary dues over and above the assessed land revenue. The State, however did not recognise such collections as lawful and threw the weight of its authority against their realisation by the <u>zamindar</u>. How far did the State succeeded in protecting the ryots from such unlawful exactions is a matter of conjecture. It depended, in the first place, on the integrity and efficiency of the Amil or the <u>jagirdar</u> to enforce imperial regulations. The specific agrarian conditions such as pressure on land or scarcity of peasants obtaining in a particular locality, the positäon and the individual temperament of a <u>zamindar</u>, and the caste composition of the peasantry together with their numerical strength were other important factors

which would affect the implementation the regulations of the revenue administration.

The evidence under reference also throws some light on the nature of the peasants right in the land. We learn that the holdings under crops were entered against the name of the individual peasant, and he was responsible for paying the land revenue assessed on them. We are not told under what conditions he could be evicted from his holdings or what would be done with his holdings if he failed to pay the land revenue to the zamindar. But it is suggested that the zamindar was required to do his utmost to pursuade an absconding peasant to resettle in the village and bring his holdings under cultivation. If he failed to return, inspite of all attempts on the part of the zamindar his holdings lapsed to the zamindar or the co-sharer zamindars who were entitled to bring the holdings under their own cultivation. Thus because of the relative abundance of land and the scarcity of peasants eviction was not a living problem.

Lastly, the zamindar was entitled to certain services rendered by the peasants without payment of any wages. The peasant was required to plough zamindar's holdings for a number of days with his own plough and for this no wages were paid. Such services without wages were recognised by law but a limit was laid for each of them.

Appointment of Zamindar:

We have noted that the zamindars who paid land revenue assessed on the basis of individual holdings of the peasants were hereditary zamindars. The hereditary zamindari rights could also be obtained by virtue of purchase. Apart from them there was another class of land revenue paying zamindars who were appointed by the State. Such an

appointment was generally necessitated by the unruly and turubulent attitude of a hereditary *zaminder* who might refuse to pay the land revenue.[1] A suitable person, a loyal *zamindar* punctual in payment of land revenue[2] or an able officer of the State[3] was appointed as the *zamindar* of the territory vacated by the rebel. Generally, such an appointment carried with it a fixed rank and entailed an offer of a suitable *pesh kash* on the part of the appointee.[4] The *zamindar* appointed by the State and holding a rank seems to have been subject to *dagh* and *tashiha* regulations but in certain cases an exemption from these regulations was made.[5] The *zamindari* thus acquired, however, differed from the ordinary *zamindari* in one important respect. It could not be obtained in hereditary rights and on the death of the appointed *zamindar* the application of a new candidate would be entertained and if a suitable peshkash was forthcoming the application was recommended and approved.[6]

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1. *Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas* ff. 88,89, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* I p.230
2. Ibid ff. 88-89
3. *Akhbarat* 38/137
4. Ibid 44/142
5. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* I pp284,285
6. *Akhbarat* 44/142, Akhbarat 38/137

CHAPTER VI

MADAD MAASH LANDS

Muslim rulers of India granted rent free lands to men of piety and learning, and to persons belonging to the noble families who had no other means of earning their livelihood. The Mughals continued the practice of granting subsistance allowance to the pious, the learned, the poor and needy and to Shaikhs, Sayyids and Irani and Turani women.[1] Such a subsistance allowance could be granted in cash or in the form of a grant of land. The subsistance allowance in cash was known as wazifah or rozinah and the grant of rent free land was known as madad maash or milk.[2] The two types of grant were covered by the general term siyurghal.[3]

Madad maash, thus was a grant in land made in recognition of the need, piety, learning or the claim of the receipient by birth more especially to Shaik and Sayyid families. According to Abul Fazl persons belonging to the four classes were eligible for the grant of madad maash lands. First were those who were seekers after truth and for acquiring real knowledge had renounced the world. Secondly, there were persons who strove for conquerring the desires of the sense and self and to attain their object had chosen a life of self abnegation and self-annihilation. Thirdly the claims of the nèedy and the poor,

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1. Ain-i-Akbari I, p.141
2. Ibid I, p.140
3. Ibid I, p.140. The word siyurghal which is of Mongol origin literally means a favour or a grant. Originally it denoted the the document by which a tiyul was granted (Ency.of Islam vol.IV p.800).

who could not earn their livelihood on account of physical disability or for lack of material resources, had to be recognised. Lastly came the persons, claiming noble birth, who follishly deemed it below their dignity or social status to take up any trade or profession.[1]

Nature of grant:

It appears that grant could be made renewed, extended, curtailed or resumed whenever the Emperor liked to do so.[2] But in actual practice it conferred hereditary proprietary right in land, subject to periodical verification, confirmation or renewal of the grant to the heirs of a grantee.[3] Some of the *farmans* specifically stated that the grant was made to the grantee and his descendants.[4] It appears that the verification or confirmation was not annual but periodical.[5] Another important feature of these grants was that in the overwhelming majority of cases the grants were in the nature of *maafi* i.e. free from land revenue and all other taxes termed as *huquq-i-diwani* and *awarize-i-sultani*.[6] Thus it can be safely presumed that generally the *madad maash* grants were rent-free and the grantee was entitled

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1. *Ain-i-Akbari* I, pp.140,141.
2. Ibid I, pp. 140, 141
3. Allahabad Documents Nos. 167,169,173,175,154
4. Ibid Nos.9, 165,172, 174,176,178,
5. Ibid No.161
6. *Farhang-i-Kardani* f.39b: the list of remitted taxes is given in Allahabad Document No.60 and in Akbar's *farman* preserved in the Research Library, Department of History, Muslim University,Aligarh. They were : *qunlighah* (process fee), *peshkash* (presents),*jaribanah* (rate imposed for defraying the charges of measurement of land), *zabitanah* (fee paid to measurers and assessors), *muhassilanah* (fee of the tax gatherer)*muhranah* (fee for sealing documents), *daroghanah'* (superintendence charges), *begar*(employing anyone with-

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to appropriate the produce of the soil or the revenue from the land and could lease out the land to the cultivator. But the possibility for the assessment of _madad maash_ lands cannot be altogether ruled out and in fact we have some evidence to show that _madad maash_ lands were sometimes subject to assessment. The earliest evidence about the assessment of _madad maash_ land dates back to the year 1058 A.H. 1648 A.D. in Shahjahan's reign. We learn from a document, preserved in the Central Records Office, Allahabad, that 990 bighas of land was granted to one Begam Birlas earlier in the reign of Shahjahan. In 1058 A.H./1648 A.D. out of the total grant 476 bighas and one _biswah_ of cultivated land was assessed in the way of _zabti_. A revenue demand of Rs.244/6/- was fixed at the rate of annas eight per bigha as was the customary rate in the _pargana_. Later on a _parwanah_ granting remission of Rs.56/- was issued. The remaining balance of the revenue demand amounting to Rs.188/6/- was remitted in the year 1060 A.H./1649 A.D.

The evidence just summarised deserves some notice. We do not know the special circumstances which became responsible for the assessment of a part of the _madad maash_ lands. Neither the reasons for partial and subsequently total remissions have been recorded. But the evidence clearly establishes that under particular conditions, not specified in the document under reference, the rent-free grant

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(Footnote continued in continuation of previous page)
out remuneration), _shikar_ (hunting fee), _deh nimi_ (tax of five percent), _muqaddami_ (headman's fee), _sad doi_ (tax of two percent) _qanungoi_(fee of officers in charge of land tenures) and _zabt-i-harsalah_ (cost of annual settlement). Also see Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign p.190.

of land was liable to partial assessment and that if and when the conditions permitted the assessed revenue or a part of it could be remitted.

Again we learn from a document relating to the same reign that aima lands of village Bhusra and village Haibatpur were assessed for Rs.25/- and Rs.5/- respectively.[1] We learn elsewhere that aimadars of Amethi had t o pay the customary land revenue[2] of Rs.1,0015/-. The aimadars of pargana Haidargarh, Satrakh, Ibrahimpur and Anbola had also to pay a fixed land revenue.[3] It appears that the entire parganas were granted as madad maash and that such lands were liable to assessment of land revenue. We can also infer that certain types of madad maash lands, had acquired more or less the same character as zamindari lands, subject to revenue assessment. But the fact that they were still referred to as madad maash and aima lands suggests that the rates of assessment for such lands were most probably lighter than those of the zamindari lands. In fact the inference is supported by the evidence just quoted. We have noted that an entire village was assessed for Rs.25/- while the grantee of other one had to pay only Rs.5/- as the land revenue. Again it appears that the entire paragana of Amethi was assessed for an amount of Rs.10,000/ or so which could hardly be the usual land revenue for a pargana.

Lastly, it is to be noted that the holders of madad maash

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1. Allahabad Documents No. 1
2. Ibid No.218; dated 1179 A.H./1764 A.D
3. Ibid No.218; dated 1179 A.H./1764 A.D.

lands enjoyed the right to sell or transfer land as gift[1] in the same way as the zamindars did. The inference is based on evidences relating to the reign of Aurangzeb and post-Aurangzeb period and as such we cannot say with any amount of certainty athat the holders of madad maash land enjoyed the right to sell and transfer under Akbar and his two immediate successors. Thus for all practical purposes the madad maash holders were owners of land granted to them and were not much different from the small zamindars as far as the interests and rights in the land were concerned. However, the majority of madad maash grantees enjoyed the unique economic immunity from all heads of taxation. But it appears that quite a large number of grantees had to pay the land revenue like the zamindar, but most probably a preferrential treatment was meted out to them in applying lighter rates of assessment to their lands.

Type of land granted as Madad Maash:

The madad maash lands could be granted in jagir area[2] or in mahal earmarked as khalsa[3] or it could be granted out of land described as waste land excluded from jama.[4] It was also a well establishe practice to separate madad maash lands from khalsa and jagir mahals and consolidate it in order to avoid any dispute at the time of measurement.[5] The idea of separating the madad maash lands from

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1. Allahabad Documents Nos. 294, 296
2. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas ff. 40 ab
3. Akbar's Farman (986 A.H.) Allahabad Documents Nos.3,156,157,159,162
4. Allahabad Documents Nos. 156,157,159,160,162
5. Ibid Nos. 10,180,160

khalsa and jagir mahals was for the first time mooted by Akbar.[1] The grants of madad maash lands out of khalsa and jagir lands were few and far between. Only a few documents indicate that the madad maash grant was made out of khalsa lands, escpecially under Akbar.[2] Gradually the practice tended towards grant of madad maash lands out of land lying waste and excluded from the jama and by the first half of the 18th century it had become a well-established administrative practice.[3] Under Akbar the proportion of cultivated and cultivable land was fixed[4] in the ratio of 1:1. It appears that the ratio indicated in the Ain served only as a standard and not as a rigid regulation and variations according to the local conditions were admissible by the Revenue Ministry.[5] The area of a madad maash grant by virtue of a single farman varied from 15 bighas to more than four thousand bighas.[6] Generally, the larger grants of madad maash lands ranged between 500 to 1000 bighas. But it would be wrong to presume that there was any ceiling over a grant of more than one thousand bighas of lands, as has been suggested by some scholars.[7] In fact, there is evidence to show that grant made by virtue of a single farman exceeded

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1. Allahabad Documents No. 24
2. Akbar's Farman dated 986 A.H. reveals that the entire grant was made of the cultivable land included in the jama. The area of the land tilled by the peasants and the land tilled by the grantees themselves are given in the farman.
3. Allahabad Documents Nos.157,158,159,163; Farhang-i-Kardani f.39 a
4. Ain-i-Akbari I, p.141
5. Allahabad Documents No.162, the document is dated the 14th regnal year of Jahangir Document No.296 dated 1004 A.H. records the grant of 29 bighas, 20 bighas cultivated, 9 bighas fallow.
6. Allahabad Documents No. 154.

the area of four thousands bighas.[1]

Procedure of Grant:

The procedure of the grant of madad maash land can best be studied from some documents,[2] preserved in the Central Records Office Allahabad and in the Farhang-i-Kardani.[3] It appears in the first instance a report stating a deserving case along with the necessary recomme ndation was submitted to the imperial court. The report was known as the fard-i-haqiqat.[4] After it had been received at the court and duly recorded in the siyaha[5] it was presented to the emperor. In case the recommendation made in the report was approved by the emperor he issued verbal orders for the grant of madad maash lands. The details of the grant, the name of the Sadr and the name of the Waqiah-i-Nigar were recorded in the yadaasht-i-waqiah. After the completion of these entries ix the Sadr instructed that the yaddasht should be presented to the emperor again. This process was known as arz-i-mukarrar. These families completed the Sadr issued an order to prepare the farman for the grant of madad maash lands approved by empe- ror. The farman specified the area of land granted as madad

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1. Allahabad Documents No.154, dated 12th regnal year of Shahjahan 1049 A.H./1639-40 A.D.; also see Allahabad Documents Nos.144, 180, 199 which record the grants of 1562 bighas, 3039 bighas and 2220 bighas respectively.
2. Allahabad Documents Nos.220,226
3. Farhang-i-Kardani f.39
4. Ibid, f. 39a
5. Most probably refers to siyahai-i-waqai or the register recording the proceedings and translations at the court.

maash, the name of the grantee and necessary instructions to the officers concerned to note the content of the farman and make over the possession of the land specified in the farman to the grantee. An account of the formalities completed at the court, and the details of the area of land granted as madad maash land[1] was recorded on the back of the farman which was known as zimn. A parwanah, recapitulating the content of the farman was issued by the department of the Sadr and it bore his seal. The parwanah made a reference to the content of the farman along with the date on which it was issued and directed the gumashtas and Karoris to comply with the royal order.

Verification, Confirmation and Renewal:

The grant made as madad maash was subject to periodical verification and confirmation by the office of the Sadr. It was the duty of the grant holders to come to the office of the local Sadr and establish their claims by producing reliable witnesses who had to confirm that the grant holders in question were still alive, and that the land granted to them was in possession and use of the grantee. In case the Sadr was satisfied on these points a new sanad[2] was issued to the grant holders which confirmed them in the possession and use of the land granted to them.[3] This administrative practic was known as tashihah.[4] On the death of a grant holder his or her heirs had

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1. It appears that under Akbar till the year 986 the details of the area of land granted as madad maash lands were given in the text of the farman (see Akbar's Farman dated 986 A.H./1578 A.D. Deptt. of History, Muslim University,Aligarh.
2. Patent
3. Allahabad Document Nos. 2,165,168,174,176,178,
4. Ibid Nos. 168, 171, 175

to apply for renewal and confirmation of the grant in their names. They had to establish their claims to the grant by producing witnesses who attested to the following:-

1. That the claimants were alive and the land granted to the deceased was in their possession and use.
2. That they had no other means of livelihood.
3. That they possessed the verification and confirmation deeds of the former Sadrs.

In case the Sadr was satisfied on these points he recommended the case for renewal and confirmation of the grants to the heir of the deceased The grant was thus confirmed and renewed by virtue of a hasab-ul-hukm.[1]

The Department of the Sadr.

The administration of madad maash lands was entrusted to a separate department under the Sadr or Sadr-us-Sudur. Under Akbar the department does not appear to have been a very elaborate one, but it was well organised and was served by three important officials, namely a Bitikchi or secretary of distinguished ability known as Diwan-i-Saadat, the Qazi and the Mir Adl. The Sadr was selected on the basis of certain qualifications. He was required to possess clear thinking and a liberal outlook so as to admit no distinction on grounds of

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1. I have examined some ten cases of renewal and confirmation to the heirs of a deceased grantee. But of ten nine have been renewed and confirmed in compliance with a hasab-ul-hukm. Only in one case the grant has been renewed and confirmed by virtue of a farman in which the area of land granted as madad maash exceeds 4 thousand bighas (Allahabad Documents No.154). It appears that generally the renewal and confirmation was made on the authority of hasab-ul-hukm. The renewal and confirmation by virtue of a farman was made a special case as it involved considerably large area of land granted as madad maash For cases renewed and confirmed by hasab-ul-hukm see Allahabad Documents Nos.9,166,167,168,169,170,171,173,175.

race or religion. Kind disposition and industrious habits were other two qualifications necessary for selection.[1]

Power and Functions of the Sadr:

The most important duty of the Sadr was to enquire into the conditions of the people and assess their needs so that they might be given subsistence allowance due to them. Moreover he was required to organise and run his department at the centre and in the provinces.[2] He was consulted by the emperor in granting madad maash lands and the fact was recorded on the back of the farman[3]. Every important paper dealing with the grant of madad maash lands bore his seal. It appears that the Qazis, provincial Sadrs and Muftis were appointed on his recommendation and with his consent.[4] The Sadr issued a parwanah enclosing an appointment in his Department, the grant of madad maash lands and renewal and confirmation of a grant.[5]

Position:

Akbar's early Sadrs seem to have occupied an important position and exercised a great degree of discretionary power in granting madad maash lands. However the corruption and nepotism that obtained in the department led to a change in Akbar's attitude towards the power and position enjoyed by the Sadr. He began to take a personal interest in the administration of the department and consequently the Sadr was divested of much of the powers enjoyed by him. It was

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1. Ain-i-Akbari I, p.140
2. Ibid, I, p.141
3. Akbar's Farman dated 986 A.H.
4. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Supplement p.173
5. Ibid p.173, D.No.55, Ibn-i-Hasan

laid down that all such cases in which the grant exceeded five hundred bighas should be referred to the Emperor and until they were approved by him they should be withheld. Later on another regulation was issued which laid down that all grants exceeding hundred bighas which were not specified in the farmans, should be reduced to 2/5th of the original area and the balance of 3/5th should be resumed as khalsa. The Sadr was authorised to enforce division of grants which were made to more than one person in case one of the grantees died. The share of the deceased was to be resumed as khalsa till the heirs of the deceased were presented to the Emperor. The power of the Sadr was limited to the grant of fifteen bighas of land without the prior sanction of the Emperor. The Sadr was also authorised to verify, confirm or renew the old grants[1]. In the early years of Jahangir the Sadr regained some of his former powers and privileges. But it did not last long and after the seventeenth year the Emperor divested the Sadr of the power to make grant on his own authority.[2] Under Shahjahan theoretically the position remained the same but Muswai Khan, the Sadr, transgressed the limits of his power. He was accused of granting madad maash lands and wazifah to undeserving persons without any reference to the Emperor. Shahjahan took a serious view of the situation and the Sadr was removed from his office.[3]

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1. Ain-i-Akbari I p.141
2. Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, pp. 272,273
3. Central Structure of the Mughal Empire pp. 275 Badshah Nama II, pp. 365,366

The office of the Sadr-us-Sudur continued to function in the first half of the 18th century. It appears that the appointment in his department were made through him and the order of appointment bore his seal.[1] A passage in Khafi Khan reveals that during the supremacy of Sayyid brothers, Mir Jumlah, who held the office of the Sadarat-i-kul had lost much of his power and authority. Ratan Chand exercised absolute powers even in matters relating to the Holy Law. Even the Qazis and others officers of the department of law and justice were recommended and appointed by him.[2]

The Provincial Sadr.

We have noted that Akbar tried to curtail the power of the Sadr-us-Sudur and check the corruption that obtained in the department. He also paid adequate attention to organise the department at the provincial and pargana level. The madad maash land were separated from the khalsa and jagir lands and were directly administered by the provincial or regional Sadrs and the pargana Qazis. It appears that for some time the office of the Sadr-us-Sudur was abolished and the administration of the madad-maash land was entrusted to regional and provincial Sadrs.[3] However, later on the office of the Sadr-us-Sudur was revived and the provincial Sadr continued to function throughout the 17th and first half of the 18th century. We do not know much about the function and duties attached to the office of the provincial Sadr under the great Mughals. However,

1. Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplement p.173
2. Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, II, p.843
3. Akbar Nama III p.372

the functions and duties attached to office of the provincial Sadr, as it existed in the first half of the 18th century, have been described in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi.[1] The provincial Sadr, we are told, was appointed by virtue of a sanad bearing the seal of Sadr-us-Sudur. The provincial Sadr held a zat and a sawar rank and the office carried with it a conditional rank of 50 zat and 10 sawars. The Qazis, the Muhtasibs,[2] the Imams[3] and the Mutawallis[4] of tombs and the Moazzins[5] served under him and obtained their letters of appointments from his office. The sanads relating to madad maash, wazifah and rozinah were submitted to him for verification and confirmation. Papers relating to resumption of madad maash lands bore his seal and signatures.

The madad maash lands at the pargana level were administered by the Mutawalli.[6] It appears that in the first half of the 18th century the Mutawalli came to be more and more associated with the administration of the madad maash land. From a document in the Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas we learn that a pargana Mutawalli was appointed by virtue of a royal order, and served under the Sadr. He en-

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1. Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplement p.173
2. Mutawalli: an administrator or procurator of any religious or charitable foundation
3. Imam: one who leads the prayers
4. Muazzin: the public crier who assembles the people to prayers by proclamation from a minaret or tower of a mosque
5. Muhtasib: an officer in the police department who examined weights and measures and provisions and prevented gambling and drinking etc.
6. The mutawalli has been mentioned as one of the signatories of a chaknama in a document dated 1019 A.H./1610 A.D. We know from a later document that he was an officer connected with the administration of madad maash land at the pargana level.(Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas ff. 38-39) It can be therefore, reasonably suggested that office of the Mutawalli dates back to Jahangir's reign if not earlier.

quired into the conditions of the persons who held madad maash lands or received cash allowances. He was required to send regular reports to the office of the Sadr. He put his seal on the papers relating to grant of madad maash land and cash allowances.[1]

The institution of siyurghal or madad maash land occupied an important position in the agrarian system under the Mughals. Apparently, it might suggest itself as an institution born of misguided charity which produced a class of parasites who contributed little or nothing to the political and economic life of the country but were a constant source of drain on the public treasury. There may be a partial truth in the hasty conclusion but a careful analysis of the institution will undoubtedly contradict the assumption and give a real insight into the nature and function of the institution in the agrarian set up of the country. In fact it had important bearing or on the political, economic and social life of the country and had its own place in the administrative set up of the Mughal Empire.

It may be reasonably argued that the Mughal emperors, generally speaking, were too secular to waste public money for feeding and nourishing a class of parasites that contributed little to their political and administrative ends, It will be readily conceded by every intelligent student of medieval Indian history that the political and agrarian conditions in those days were such that they were hardly conducive to a successful implementation of the imperial

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1. Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas ff. 38, 39

regulations in the vast Empire of Hindustan. The tenancious _zamindars_, in an overwhelming majority of Hindus and the pivot of the political and agrarian life of the country, were ever ready to defy the State authority when they could do so with any amount of success. In fact, if we are keen to detect any trace of class war in medieval times we should seek it in the relationship that subsisted between the State and the petty princes or the numerous descendants of petty princes who were described by Indo-Persian historians as _zamindars_. It was a never ending conflict, sometimes hidden, at others apparent, in which the _zamindars_ were subdued temporarily but never reconciled to their fate of subjugation by the imperial authrity. Thus the attitude of the _zamindars_ towards the State considerably increased the difficulty of maintaining law and order in large areas of the Empire which were at a distance from the administrative centres. It was even more difficult to collect land revenue where and when the _zamindars_ chose to withhold their cooperation from the revenue officers. Under such conditions it was almost a political and administrative necessity to create some pockets of local influence which could be always depended upon for loyal services to the State. This could only be achieved if intelligent and tactful Muslims could be induced to settle down in the interior of the country and their means of livelihood were assured by the State in the form of grant of revenue-free lands. The grant of _madad maash_ land, free from all taxation, was a powerful stimulant to such of the Muslim families who did not like the profession of a warrior and yet shunned trade and commerce as incompatible with their family pride and tradition.

Thus the Mughal State earmarked upon a policy of creating small pockets of Muslim population in a number of villages in almost every pargana. The people who were generally chosen for the tasks were Sheikhs and Sayyids.[1] They were not only pious and learned but fairly tactful and intelligent. They settled down in remote villages in the interior and created a place of honour and respect for themselves among the local population. They by their saintly lives, at least the original grantees, their deep human sympathy and catholicity of outlook won for themselves the unique title of _miyan_ , an expression of admiration for virtuous and kind conduct and docility. The development of this attitude towards the _madad maash_ grantees indicates that they inspired confidence in the alien Hindu population and most probably exercised their influence with the local officers to protect the local Hindus from unjust exactions or other forms of oppression. If successful in their efforts to protect the rights and interests of the local population they indirectly inspired confidence among the rural Hindu towards the State. On the other hand, they furnished the government officers with reliable information about the political and administrative condition of the locality, and under conditions of emergency they might join the government forces as soldiers to curb a local disturbance.

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1. Under Akbar, however, a few grants were made to non-Muslims. The grantees were a Parsee, named Kaiqubad and a Hindu priest at Gokul. Whereas the grant made to the Parsee is named as _madad maash_ the _farman_ conferring the grant of village Gokul merely states that the said village had been granted to meet the expenses of the temple and that the grantee should be exempted from all taxes including land revenue. See The Parsees at the Court of Akbar pp. 119, 193; Imperial Farmans : No.V; also see Farman No.VII.

Economically, the practice created a considerably large class, spread all over Northern India, which depended for its livelihood on land. They were not called zamindars but for all practical purposes they had the same interest and title in land as the zamindars. However, they enjoyed the unique economic immunity in the so far as their lands were free from all taxation. But the grants were generally small ranging from 100 to 1000 bighas and therefore they were, in most cases, not much better off than the village zamindars Thus the practice of granting madad maash lands created a class of Muslim village zamindars and later on it actually assumed the zamindari right in land,[1] and sometimes had to pay the customary land revenue as paid by the hereditary zamindars or those who had acquired zamindari rights in land by purchase.I do not want to suggest that the Muslim zamindarsof the later Mughal period were invariably the grant-holders or their descendants. Muslims, of course, acquired zamindari rights by purchase and sometimes converted the ijarah lands into zamindari. But it is important to note that by the first half of the 18th century the madad maash grants were quite freely treated in transactions as zamindari lands and hardly any distinction was made between a zamindar or one who held his land by right of purchase or a person who had acquired it in hereditary rights as the descendent of a grant holder.

Socially, the institution became responsible for fostering

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1. Allahabad Documents No. 439

and developing the belief and practice of religious toleration among the rural population of Hindustan. The Muslims who settled down in the villages had direct contact with the urban culture of the provincial or district head-quarters and were thus in a position to carry the Muslim urban culture in the remote interirors of the country. They were faced with new and unfamiliar surroundings. But as they had long cultural traditions and continued to maintain their contacts with the provincial head-quarters or with the capital they would not be absorbed by the local culture of the majority population. They succeeded in retaining the essentials of their religious beliefs, manners and customs. Nevertheless they were considerably influenced by local custom and some of these became a part and parcel of their own culture. With the passage of time they began to participate in local festivals not as a matter of belief, but merely as local custom which afforded them an opportunity to rejoice with men who, although professed a different religion, were their life long companions to face the common problems of rural life. Similarly the simple minded Hindus in the villages came to know and understand the Muslim culture and religion as practiced and observed by the Muslim in their daily life. Gradually the realisation came to the Hindus that the Muslims were not altogether unholy as they were made to believe from the accounts handed down from their forefathers who identified a Muslim with a Turk and a malich, a tyrant and a creature of extremly unholy and unclean habits. Consequently the rural Hindus developed an attitude of toleration towards the much despised Turk and the contemptible odium of Turk was replaced

by the loving and respectable title of Miyan, signifying a man of extreme docility and innate nobleness.

It is difficult to ascertain how far the two sections of the rural population influenced each other and that practices and customs were mutually exchanged. But one who is well-acquainted with the rural conditions in areas of mixed population as well as in areas where Muslim population is concentrated only in a number of villages will agree with the present writer that the settling down of Muslim families in rural areas had tremendously affected the minds of Indian villagers. Hindu and Muslim villagers developed alike a deep rooted sense of religious toleration which was born of a realisation of common needs and problems of the limited but compact life of an Indian village. The direct contacts of life-long duration, often maintained for generations, fostered an understanding between the two sections of the rural population and served to weaken the prejudices against each other. The impact of religious toleration had been so deep that an illiterate villager, Hindu or Muslim not only believes in but practices complete religious toleration, and shuns an act which might hurt the susceptibilities of the followers of another religion. Thus while the grants of revenue-free lands have been liquidated and even the descendants of the grantees might have emigrated from their ancestral homes, the legacy of the religious toleration in rural India is still a cherished asset left by the institution of madad maash grants.

CHAPTER VII

METHODS OF ASSESSMENT

The chronicles dealing with the history of the first half of the 18th century contain little information about the methods of assessment that obtained during the period under our study. The only contemporary work that deals with the subject is a mannual entitled Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas by Jawahar Mal Baikas compiled in Muradabad-Sambhal in the year 1444 A.H./1731-32. Some valuable information is also available in reports and papers compiled for the benefit of British administrators in the late 18th and early 19th century. We know that since the days of Akbar nasaq, zabt, kankut and bhaoli were the well known and widely accepted methods of assessment. An examination of the relevant evidence, contained in the sources referred to above, reveals that many of these methods of assessment, continued to operate in different regions of northern India but the relative position of these methods in regard to order of precedence they enjoyed and the extent of the area in which they obtained underwent some change. This change was in a large measure due to the altered political and administrative conditions of the period and to the development of certain tendencies in the revenue administration under Aurangzeb. The decay of the jagirdari system accompanied by the wide-spread practice of ijarah created particularly a new and certainly a much more complicated situation for the successful operation of the older methods of assessment. The

common methods of assessment obtaining during the period are described in the Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas. The arrangement of its contents is rather loose and the description far from being precise except in the case of kankut and ghallah bakhshi. We learn that the peasants or the zamindars were given option to choose one method of assessment out of hast-o-bud, naqadi, kankut, khewat and bhaoli. Some of these have been described and others have simply been mentioned. An attempt is made in the following lines to offer and intelligible description of these methods largely based upon the testimony of this work.

Hast-o-bud:

The method of assessment known as hast-o-bud finds place in the Farhang-i-Kardani compiled in the reign of Aurangzeb. The lines describing hast-o-bud contain lacunae and therefore it is not possible to ascertain the exact nature of the method of assessment as given in the Farghang-i-Kardani. However it is clear that it involved inspection of the standing crops and an estimate of the expected produce on the basis of inspection.[1] The definition of hast-o-bud, as given in the Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas, corroborates the description given in the Farhang-i-Kardani. According to the Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas under this system the assessing officer inspected the standing crops and assessed the jama accordingly with the concurrence of the Chaudharis and the Qanungos.[2] The

1. Farhang-i-Kardani f. 33 a.
2. Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas ff. 62-63

term has also been defined in a later work by Mohammad Yasin. Literally the term, says the author, signified standing crops and as a method of assessment it implied assessment made on the basis of standing crops rather than the total area cultivated. It was a method of assessment different from the practice of calculating jama on the basis of the number of ploughs or the area of land ploughed.[1] It appears that the more oppressive of the assessing officers did not take into account the damage done to the field before the crop was fully developed, or the area which was tilled but not sown or the land which could be tilled but was left fallow, and assessed the entire arable land entered against the name of the zamindar or the peasant. In such ases the zamindar was entitled to demand an assessment on the actual standing crops.[2] Thus the evidence in the three sources agrees that under hast-o-bud the assessment was made on the inspection of standing crops rather than on the land tilled or the land entered against the name of a peasant or zamindar. We are further told in the Dastur-ul-Amal -i-Baikas that any increase or decrease in the jama was made after the inspection or verification of the area under standing crop was completed. The nature of the method of assessment, as described in our sources, is not very clear but we know that under it neither was the land under crop measured nor were any rates applied. What was actually done was to increase or decrease the estimated jama

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1. Add 6603 f. 84 a.
2. Ibid f. 84 a.

figures or the jama figures for the last year on the basis of an inspection of the standing crop. That such a method of assessment was just and equitable to the owner of the holdings is indicated by the fact that the demand for such an assessment was made by the zamindar himself. It also made the work of assessing officer simple and less burdensome and saved the parties concerned from expenses entailed in the measurement operations. But the most important merit of the method was that it saved the ryots and the zamindars from the oppression of the greedy and selfish assessing officers. Indirectly it also served the interest of the State as a contented and prosperous peasantry might be interested or persuaded to extend the area under cultivation and thus increase the revenue of the Empire. In fact the author of the Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas makes out these points in so many words when he closes his chapter on the methods of assessment and collection and puts down a few words of good advice for a successful Amil. He reminds the Amil that it was in the interest of his own career that the peasantry should be made prosperous and contented and that the end could be best attained by adopting hast-o-bud in as much as it was the best of all the methods of assessment.[1]

Thus the Amil is advised to assess the entire pargana on the basis of hasto-bud and prepare the fard-i-chausan.[2] How

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1. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas, 76 ab.

2. The document showed the following details:
   1. cultivable area 2. dami sal-i-kamil or the jama figures in dams for the year in which the entire cultivable land was assessed. 3. dami-sal-i-akmal or the jama figures for the year when the jama figures were maximum. 4. sharh-i-dol-i-sal-i-hal stated the total amount of the assessed jama ~~ar~~ for

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produce. The Amin was required to select one biswa of the land under standing crops and the other one biswa was to be selected by the ryot. The crop from the two biswas, thus selected, was to be cut and thrashed out. The corn then was to be weighed, and the total produce of the measured land under crop calculated. Now any increase or decrease in the assessment was to be made on the basis of the calculation thus made of the total produce.[1] The jamabandi was to be prepared on the basis of the entries made in the khewat,[2] and the assessed jama in grain was to be commuted into cash according to the current prices and the amount assessed on each asami or cultivator was to be shown against him.[3] Thus we see that the measurement of land under crops was common to zabt as well as kankut; in preparation of the jamabandi cash rates were applied and the revenue demand was shown in cash. The important difference between the two methods of assessment lay in the fact that in zabt the produce per bigha was based on records whereas in kankut arrangement the produce per bigha was estimated by mutual agreement of the parties concerned or by the sample weighing of the corn yield of a few biswas. In other words in the kankut arrangement the assessment was almost made on the actual produce and the loss to crops was equally shared by the State and the peasantry. Under zabt, however, the assessment was made on the conjectured or expected produce calculated on the basis of the schedule showing the average productivity

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1. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas, f. 70b, also see Dastur-ul-Amal of Mahdi Ali Khan, f. 2a;
2. Khewat: the register of proprietors, under-proprietors and perpetual lesses. See Wilson's glossary pp. 446-447.
3. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas f. 71 a. cf: Ain I p.199; Farhang-i-Kardani f.32 b Khulasat-us-Siyaq f 21 ab.

per bigha, and although deducations were made for any serious damage done to crops by natural calamities it made no provision for deductions in case the yields from the crops were far below the average for reasons such as poor irrigation, bad seeds or unsatisfactory and poor mellowing of the soil. Thus on its own merits kankut assessment had a favourable bias towards the peasants. We can well imagine a good deal of haggling between the assessing staff and the ryots or their representatives as to agreement or choice between zabt and kankut. The revenue manuals of the periods invariably instruct the assessing officer to offer option to the ryots to choose one of the different methods of assessment. But how far the officers on the spot complied with the order of the Revenue Ministry is a matter of conjecture.

The third method of assessment, was known as bhaoli. It was sharing or division of crops or grain at the rate agreed between the parties concerned. The bhaoli arrangement could be made in two forms, namely khushah batai and ghallah batai. The khushah batai consisted in the division of sheafs, between the State and the peasants at the rate of ½, 1/3, 1/4 or 1/5, and the khasra was prepared accordingly. The ghalla bhaoli, generally known by its Hindi synonym chunar batai, consisted in the actual division of grain.[1] The khasrah-i-bhaoli contained the following entries.[2]

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1. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas ff.71b,72 a; cf.Ain-i-Akbari, I p.199; Farhang-i-Kardani, f.32 b; Khulasatu-us-Siyaq, f. 13 ab.

2. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas, f.72 a

1. name of the asami 2. length of the field 3. breadth of the field 4. total are 5. total produce 6. share of the ryots 7. share of the government 8. total expenses. It appears that the division of grain took place after the necessary deduction for expenses incurred in cultivation had been made[1] and the jamabandi was prepared accordingly. There is evidence to show that the bhaoli arrangement could be made even at the beginning of the year in case such a request was forthcoming by the ryots. In such an assessment the patta bhaoli was duly written and handed over to the ryots. It stated that in accordance with the request made by the Muqaddams, ryots and muzaras of the said village the arrangement based on the estimated jama for the last year, was made for the village and that when the crops were ripe the stipulated conditions would be fulfilled.[2] The official attitude towards bhaoli is well expressed in the dictum batai lutai ast,[3] i.e. sharing is loot" (on the part of the peasants). Sharing required great vigilance and constant supervision entailing some extra expenses, most probably shared by the government and the peasants alike, thus resulting in a loss to the total revenues of the State. Moreover, inspite of the best efforts on the part of the local officer the chances of misappropriation of a part of the produce could never be eliminated till the actual division took place. Hence the pertinency

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1. Diwan Pasand f. 81
2. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas f. 72 b
3. Ibid, 71 b.

of the dictum and the official reluctance to undertake the sharing arrangement. In such an arrangement the initiative must have been invariably taken by the peasants and it was normally the duty of the assessing officer to accede to their request. Nevertheless the assessing officer, in actual practice, must have been sufficiently armed with the discretionary power to decide otherwise and explain his action on the ground that such an arrangement was bound to result in a loss to the State revenues.

The next method of assessment has been described as amal-i-khewat. The description is somewhat obscure but it involved, we are told, the measurement of the cultivated land by jarib and the preparation of the muntakhab.[1] The jamabandi was prepared on the basis of khewat-i-ajnas prepared for the pargana.[2] The term khewat-i-Ajnas is not very clear but it may denote the paper showing the crop rates or rent assessed in terms of grain.[3] If so the method of assessment referred to as khewat might signify a variant form of zabt. The reference to muntakhab suggests that the assessment was made on the entire village rather than on invididual holdings.

The last method of assessment to find a place in the manual

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1. This paper showed the total area under each of the crops shown in the village and was used for prepariing the jama for the entire village as against the individual peasant. If the collections were to be made from the individual peasants the jamabandi showed the total area cultivated by a peasants along with the area under each of the crops see Diwan-i-Pasand ff. 12b,13a.
2. Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas f.72 ab
3. Khewat was the record of shares in which coparcenary village was distributed; assessment with the ryots according to their shares; also record rent of settlement or assessment(Wilson's Glossary (pp.285,584). If the word khewat occurs in the sense of the

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has been described as amal-i-jinsi. It consisted in the summary estimate of the produce on the threshing ground and it was stated in the agreement entered into by the ryots that the payment be made in kind.[1]

Incidentally a method of assessment described as sarbasta finds a place in the manual. It appears to be a summary of assessment and the manual lays down that the assessing officer should not make summary assessment for the entire pargana. In case a summary assessment for the entire pargana was made the distribution of jama over the villages was not to be left in the hands of the Chaudharis and Qanungos.[2] Such a practice, it is pointed out, gave them an opportunity of shifting the jama, assessed on their own villages, on to other villages and thus pocket the income from their own villages.[3] However, no specific injunction is made against the summary assessment of a single village. We, can therefore assume that the practice of summary assessment for a village or even for a pargana obtained but the latter practice was definitely disapproved by the higher authorities.

In a letter addressed to the Diwan the various methods of assessment employed in assessing the jama of the pargana are mentioned. One of them is referred to as tashkhis-i-naqdi.[4] It has not been described

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record rent of settlement or assessment we can infer that khewat-i-ajnas refers to the paper showing the amount of assessment in terms of grain.

1. Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas f.72 ab
2. Ibid , f.66 ab
3. Ibid, f.66 b
4. Ibid, f.73 a.

separately and as such deserves some consideration. Under Akbar naqdi signified a lump sum assessment collected in cash. In the passage under reference it has been obviously used in the sense of a detailed method of assessment. The summary treatment of tashkhis-i-naqdi can be explained if we presume that the method of assessment known as naqdi was too well known to need any description. It is also important to note that zabt finds no mention in the chapter on the methods of assessment and collection. As it is we will have to explain the term naqdi from some other sources. In fact, the term has been described in a work of early 19th century. In the Dastur-ul-Amal of Mahdi Ali Khan, the Nazim of Sarkar Bahraich,[1] naqdi is clearly described as a method of assessment. It involved measurement of the land under cultivation, and enquiry in the local conditions relating to agricultural produce and obtaining the list of current prices in order to formulate the cash rates. The definition of naqdi, as given in the manual of early 19th century establishes the fact beyond any doubt that naqdi was but another name for zabt. It is also elsewhere stated that naqdi was the counterpart of bhaoli in which the collections were made in cash.[2]

The information about the methods of assessment summarised above can be supplemented by the evidence contained in the Diwan Pasand, compiled in the first half of the 19th century. This manual on the land revenue administration takes note of zabt, kankut, baholi and of a method of assessment which on the basis of its

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1. Dastur-ul-Amal of Mahdi Ali Khan, f.2b

2. Add 6603, f.79 a.

description can be safely identified with nasaq. The khasra of zabt, kankut and bhaoli have been reproduced with the same details as in Khulasat-us-Siyaq. We are furnished with some real insight into the working of the assessment arrangement in the brief introduction which precedes the reporduction of siyahah-i-tashkhis of the village in the Diwan Pasand.[1] The author introduces us to the agrarian conditions and assessment arrangements by saying that the village assessment (literally affairs) was generally made with the zamindars. In preparing the jama the assessing officer was required to measure the land under cultivation, prepare its muntakhab, i.e. a brief statement of the total area under each crop, and then calculate and prepare the jamabandi accordingly.[2] The zamindars agreed to the assessed jama for the village and accepted the payment of the same by a written deed of acceptance (qabuliayat). The method of assessment described in the passage under reference seems to be zabt arrangement for the entire village with the zamindars. It appears that the zabt arrangement could be made in another form by assessing the holdings of the individual cultivators, on the basis of khasra-i-khatabandi i.e. the area under various crops shown against individual cultivators. Such a practice was known as amal-i-kham and under this arrangement the assessment was made on the individual cultivator and the revenue was directly collected farom him. Such an arrangement was made when the zamindars did not agree to the zabt arrangement or expressed their inability to collect the revenue

1. Diwan Pasand ff. 9 b, 10a, 18ab, 21 ab

2. Ibid, ff. 15 ab.

from the ryots. However if the assessing officer felt that each of the two methods of assessment would bring ruin to zamindars or the latter pointed out that the method would cause financial distress and adversely affect their social status, recourse could be had to a third method of assessment. Under this system the village jama was to be assessed on the basis of estimated jama for the current year, prepared by a government officer, the arrears and receipt for the last year, the comparative figures of jama for the last ten years and the estimated jama obtained from Qanungos and others, well informed about the village. The assessment arrangement was to be made with the zamindars and they had to sign an agreement for accepting the assessed jama and payment of the same to the government. Such an assessment could be made for two or three years. The lease deed (patta) was handed over to the zamindar who in turn submitted the deed of acceptance (qabuliyat).[1]

The method of assessment just described deserves our careful consideration as it contained the essential elements of that method of assessment which, under the Great Mughals, was known as nasaq. It may be pointed out that like nasaq the method of assessment described in the Diwan Pasand was based on the records for the last ten years and the figures of arrears and receipt for the previous year. Under Aurangzeb the arrangement could be made and was generally made with the Muqaddams and zamindars but the arrangement was invariably

1. Diwan Pasand ff. 15 b, 16 a.

made on an annual basis. Under the method of assessment described in the Diwan Pasand the arrangement could be made for two or three years. Thus in its nature the arrangement was periodical rather than the annual. We can, therefore, conclude that the third method of assessment described in the Diwan Pasand can be regarded as nasaq in the sense that it was made with the zamindars on the basis of previous record, but it differed from nasaq in as much as it was a periodical arrangement rather than annual. It can, therefore, be suggested that the method of assessment, as described in the Diwan Pasand, was a variatn of nasaq and it prepared the ground for the British arrangement of periodical and permanent settlements.

This completes the restatement of the methods of assessment described in the authorities of the 18th and 19th centuries. We also learn a few facts about the regional distribution of the various methods of assessment from a memorandum prepared in the year 1788 A.D. and preserved in the British Museum. It gives an account of the various units of land measurement along with the methods of assessment that obtained in different parts of northern India.[1] In Awadh we are told the area of a bigha was determined in more than one way and the revenue demand on the ryots was fixed per bigha. We can, therefore, reasonably infer that in Awadh zabt system was more prevalent.[2] In Allahabad the common method of assessment seems

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1. Add 6586 f. 164 ab.

2. According to the Dastur-ul-Amal of Mahdi Ali Khan in the early 19th century in the sarak of Bahraich, in Awadh the prevalent systems of assessment were naqdi and kankut. (See Dastur-ul-Amal of Mahdi Ali Khan, f. 2ab.)

also to have been zabt. In the Panjab in the areas under the zamindars assessment was made in the way of ghalla-bakhshi and the share of the zamindar was fixed at ¼ or 1/3 of the produce. In the territories under the king zabt obtained and the bigha was equal to 60 x 60 yards. After the measurement was completed the assessment was made in cash and the collections were accordingly made. In the province of Shahjahanabad, it appears, measurement and sharing obtained side by side and the share of the State was fixed at 1/2 or 1/3.

In a report, prepared in 1777, and describing the pre-British system of land revenue administration in Bengal,[1] we are told that in Bihar the majority of the mahals were assessed by way of naqadi and leases were given stating the amount of land revenue and the collections to be made under the usual abwab.[2] In some of the villages kankut obtained. The collections were made through the Amins, farmers and zamindars.

An examinations of the evidence summarised above reveals that the various methods of assessments such as zabt, kankut and ghalla bakhshi obtained side by side in different parts of northern India. At the same time we hear about some new methods of assessment for the first time. These were sarbasta, amal-i-khos̤at and amal-i-jinsi and a method of assessment that may be regarded as variant of nasaq. These methods of assessmnt might or might not

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1. Report of the Rai Rayan and Qanungos Add. 6592 f.112b
2. Customary dues over and above the land revenue.

have obtained in the 16th and 17th centuries but they are not on record. It is quite probable that they were confined to certain localities, and, therefore, could not find a place in the works compiled at the centre. It is also possible that they were evolved in the course of last quarter of the 17th or the beginning of the 18th century, in order to meet the demands of the changed agrarian conditions. We can also note that *hast-o-bud* comparatively so little known under the Great Mughals, had come to occupy, in some regions, a position of considerable importance and indeed it was recommended as the best of all assessment arrangements.

Secondly, the assessing officers were enjoined to be generous in offering option to the peasants and the *zamindars* to choose one of the various methods of assessment that obtained in the imperial territory. This is the inference which the manuals invariably suggest. However, it may be pointed out that the evidence in the manuals should be read as representing a bias towards theory rather than the practice. The local or regional practice was bound to affect adversely the right of an individual peasant or *zamindar* to opt for a particular method of assessment. The discretionary powers vested in the assessing officer must have also largely determined the adoption of a particular method of assessment for a given locality. Thirdly we learn that the *jamabandi* could be prepared in two ways: it could be prepared either on the basis of *muntakhab*, showing the area under each crop and the assessment made against the entire village to be collected from the *zamindars*, or it was prepared on the basis

of khasra-i-khata bandi, the paper showing area under various crops together with the holdings of the individual cultivators under various crops, the collections being made from the individual cultivators. In other words in one case the revenue demand was shown against the entire village and in other against the holdings of the individual peasants. It appears that the former method was the general practice while the latter was an exception. The collections were generally made from the zamindars or through them. In case the zamindars expressed their inability to collect the land revenue from the ryots and therefore did not agree to engage for the assessed land revenue the collections could directly be made from the individual peasants on the basis of jamabandi showing assessment against individual cultivators. Thus normally the tendency was towards the village assessment and the collections were made through or from the zamindars. The fact that generally the assessment was made for the entire village is corroborated by the meagre evidence contained in the documents belonging to the reign of Aurangzeb and Mohammad Shah. We learn from these documents that the unit of assessment was the village and zamindars and Muqaddams submitted a written agreement to collect the assessed jama and remit it to the treasury.[1]

It remains to ascertain whether the detailed assessment was made every year on the spot or it was just a matter of revising

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1. Farhang-i-Kardani 34 b, Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas ff. 66 ab

the recorded jama, noting the increase or decrease in the area under cultivation or other factors affecting the productivity. The chapters in the revenue literature dealing with the methods of assessment generally say that the assessing officer, at the beginning of the year, should personally inspect each field in the village, supervise the assessment operations and fix the annual jama. However, the evidence contained in the Khulasat-us Siyaq and the Diwan Pasand clearly suggest that it was the usual practice to assess the jama on the basis of previous records and actual detailed assessment was made only when such a demand was made by the zamindars or peasants.

A careful examination of the relevant evidence also suggests that zabt and nasaq were most widely practiced in the Northern India. Here and there in the Panjab, Bihar and Shahjahanabad, ghalla-bakhshi obtained but vast areas in almost all the provinces were either under zabt or nasaq.

Mode of payment:

Under Akbar, as we know, payment in cash was a well established practice but the Amil was also instructed to accept payment in kind in case the peasant was not willing to pay in cash. The peasants were generally required and encouraged to pay the revenue demand in cash as each instalment fell due.[1] Absence of instructions on record regulating the disposal of grain indicates that payment in kind was probably on a very limited scale and as such no

1. Akbar Nama III p.382,383; Ain-i-Akbari, I, pp.199,201; Agrarian System of Moslem India p.114.

general rules were framed. Subsequent evidence belonging to the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign and to post-Aurangzeb period substantially corroborates the inference that payment in cash was the general practice in the larger part of the Empire. The assessment accounts reproduced in the administrative manuals show that even in areas where kankut and bhaoli obtained the share of the State calculated in grain was commuted into cash.[1] According to the author of the Diwan Pasand in bhaoli arrangement the revenue demand on each peasant was fixed in grain but it was commuted and realised in cash and grain was left with the peasant.[2] Similarly the undertakings signed by the Muqaddams, zamindars, and Chaudharis and reproduced in the administrative literature of the period show that the land revenue was assessed in cash and the signatories were accountable for payment of the amount stipulated in the agreements.[3] To quote from the Khulasat-us-Siyaq the village of Aurangshahpur in pargana Kiratpur was assessed at Rs.525/- and the Muqaddam signed a written agreement to pay the assessed amount stated in the lease-deed.[4] We read elsewhere in a work compiled in the last quarter of the 18th century that in the imperial territories in the Panjab measurement obtained and the Amil collected the land revenue according to entries in the lease deed stating the revenue demand in cash.[5]

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1. Khulasat-us-Siyaq ff. 13 ab, 15 a; Farhang-i-Kardani f.33b;
2. Diwan Pasand f. 21 b
3. Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas ff. 66, 67, 68; Khulasat-us-Siyaq f. 11b; Farhang-i-Kardani f. 34 a.
4. Khulasat-us-Siyaq f. 11b
5. Add 6586 f. 164 a.

Thus the available evidence indicates that payment in cash was the general practice. However, local customs and practices, and the agrarian conditions obtaining in a particular area might have provided sufficient justification for a deviation from the practice, and in such cases the probability of payment in kind cannot be altogether ruled out.

The payment of land revenue demand was made in instalments of four or six spread over the entire year and the amount of each instalment was specifically stated in the written agreement and in the lease-deed.[1]

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1. Farhang-i-Kardani, ff. 34 ab, 35 a; Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas, f.57

C H A P T E R VIII

THE MAGNITUDE OF LAND REVENUE DEMAND

We have noted the methods of assessment that obtained in the first half of the 18th century. It remains to be investigated what was the share of State in the produce, which was determined, as we have seen, in more than one way. In the revenue literature of the Mughal period the share of the State[1] in the produce or the land revenue demand was technically known as mal. According to Abul Fazl mal denoted the tax imposed on cultivated land in accordance with the rai or grain rate.[2] But the relevant evidence in the Ain and in the Khulasatus-Siyaq indicates that those who owned or tilled the land paid some additional taxes which were collected by the officers of the State. Such extra collections were known as wajuhat.[3] Thus the wajuhat may be taken to signify the additional taxes levied on the agricultural produce. It appears that the number of such taxes was farily large but most of them were remitted by Akbar. According to Abul Fazl most of the wajuhat, equal in amount to the income of Hindustan, were remitted by His Majesty as a thanksgiving to the Almighty. The Ain contains a list of remitted taxes which numbered about forty or so.[4] We can infer that the majority of

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1. Elsewhere Abul Fazl refers to it as dast-i-muzd-i-jahanbani and wajh-i-pasbani (Ain I p.207).
2. Ain-i-Akbari p.205; also see Khulasat-us-Siyaq f.22b
3. Ibid I p.205, Khulasat-us-Siyaq f. 22b.
4. Ibid I pp.209,210, also see Ain-i-Akbari I p.200. The Amal Guzar was required to abstain from collecting some sixteen taxes including balkatai or taxes paid for obtaining the permission to reap the harvest.

wajuhat or extra collections were remitted but a few of them continued to be imposed and collected by the officers of the land revenue administration. The inference is corroborated by an evidence contained in the Khulasat-us-Siyaq, a work compiled in the last decade of Aurangzeb's reign. It appears that in the reign of Shahjahan or Aurangzeb a number of wajuhat, which were also known as jihat were merged into mal and the former as well as the latter were collected in a consolidated form under the head mal-o-jihat.[1] The wajuhat or jihat collected by the officers of the land revenue administration have not been specified either in the Ain or in the Khulasat-us-Siyaq.

With these preliminary remarks about the scope of our investigation we can proceed to examine, in the first place, the mal or the land revenue proper, which was assessed on the cultivated land in accordance with the fixed rates sanctioned by the Revenue Ministry According to Abul Fazl, the polaj and parauti land was classified into good, middling and bad according to the yield per bigha. The average produce was calculated and one third of it was claimed as the share of the State in the produce.[2] The rates for the share of the State for various grains are given in the Ain. These grain rates, we are told, were worked out by Sher Shah and as they were found equitable for all the provinces, they were adopted by Akbar.[3]

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1. Khulasat-us-Siyaq f.22 b

2. Ain-i-Akbari p.207; Separate reduced rates are given for chachar and banjar land (see Ain I p.210).

3. Ibid I p.207

Later on fixed cash rates were calculated but there is no evidence to suggest that any change was introduced in the rates of the share of the State to the average produce. Thus we can reasonably conclude that the share of the State in the produce was fixed at one-third of the average produce and that its application was limited to the areas and provinces where zabt obtained.[1] The latter reference is based on the fact that zabt did not obtain in provinces such as Gujrat, Berar, Bengal, Ajmer, Kashmir, and in a large number of mahals in Bihar. Again we know for definite that in certain provinces the land revenue demand was not fixed at one-third of the produce. We read in the Ain that in Kashmir Akbar reduced the revenue demand from two-third to one-half of the produce.[2] In Ajmer the State claimed only one-seventh or one-eighth of the produce.[3] In Gujrat the lands sold by the zamindars were to be assessed at the rate of one-half of the produce.[4] Thus an examination of the available evidence indicates that the rates of mal or land revenue demand were not uniform in all the provinces. The lowest rates were fixed in Ajmer, while in Gujrat and Kashmir the peasant had to pay one-half of the produce as the land revenue demand. But in zabti provinces where dasturs were applied to the land revenue or mal was fixed at one-third of the produce.

We have not been able to trace any change in the land revenue

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1. Zabt implied the application of dasturs or fixed cash rates calculated on the basis of grain rates or rais which indicated the share of the State as one-third of the average produce.
2. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p.128.
3. Ibid II, pp.175,176
4. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p.173.

demand under Jahangir. Some information is available about the rates of crop sharing introduced by Murshid Quli Khan in the Deccan in the reign of Shahjahan. We are told that three different rates of land revenue demand were laid for batai or crop sharing. One-half of the produce was taken as the land revenue for lands in which crops ripened with the aid of rains. For the crops which were irrigated from the wells one-third of the produce was fixed as the share of the State and two-third as the share of the peasants, However, the lands irrigated by canals were charged at a different rate. For each crops such as grapes and sugar cane the rates varied from one-ninth to one-fourth.[1] Incidentally, we note that in the crops in which more labour and capital was put in by the peasants the share of the State proportionately decreased.

For the reign of Aurangzeb valuable information is available in the Khulasat-us-Siyaq, the Nigar Nama-i-Munshi and the Mirat-i-Ahmadi. We learn from the Khulasat-us-Siyaq, that the assessment should be made in such a way that one-half of the produce without deduction or less should be claimed as the share of the State and the other half should be left to the ryots.[2] An examination of the sample jamabandi of Pargana Rampur, contained in the same work, confirms the statement made in general terms. The work reproduces the sample accounts of assessment for the pargana showing the details of assessment under zabt, kankut, and ghalla bakhshi. In the assessment account of the zabti area the cash rates have been applied.

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1. Maasir-ul-Umara, III, part I, pp.497,498
2. Khulasat-us-Siyaq f.17 a

We do not know whether the cash rates were calculated on the same basis as under Akbar in which one-third of the produce was claimed as the share of the State or they indicate an increase. However, the assessment accounts for the area under kankut and bhaoli the share of the State is given and an examination of the account reveals that it was fixed at one-half of the produce.[1] The relevant evidence contained in the Nigar Nama-i-Munshi seems to confirm the evidence we have been just examining in the above lines. We are repeatedly told in the instructions issued to the Diwans and Amins that the assessment should be made in such a way that half of the produce should be collected for the State and the other half should be completely left with the peasants.[2] The land revenue demand at the rate of one-half of the produce was, however, treated as maximum and it was clearly laid down that the limit of one-half should be exceeded under no circumstances.[3]

The evidence summarised in the above lines may be read in more than one way. In the first place, it might be construed to indicate one-half as the maximum of the land revenue demand for all the provinces of the Empire. Secondly, the evidence may be read to bear local significance. We know that the jamabandi, reproduced in Khulasat-us-Siyaq, relates to a pargana in the Panjab. Again the evidence in the Nigar Nama-i-Munshi generally relates to the jagirs assigned to the princess. It may be pointed out that normally the

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1. Khulasat-us-Siyaq, ff. 21a,22b.

2. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi pp.62, 98, 144, 145.

3. Ibid, p.154

princes obtained such jagirs which were noted for good productivity and for maximum collections of the assessed land revenue. Therefore, the evidence contained in the two sources should be read with caution and it is not safe to generalise the inferences drawn on its basis. Again, one might be tempted to interpret the evidence as the general policy of the land revenue administration which fixed 1/2 half of the produce as the minimum for land revenue demand through out the Empire. In fact the construction of the sentences stating the share of the State and that of the peasants[1] tend to suggest such an inference. But the inference should be tested on the basis of the relevant evidence elsewhere and due consideration should be given to other factors such as the rates in the former reigns and agrarian and social conditions which obtained in various parts of the imperial territory. We have noted that under Akbar the magnitude of land revenue demand was not uniform and it varied from 1/7 to 1/2 of the produce. The agrarian conditions which widely differed from place to place could not admit of the imposition of a uniform land revenue demand throughout the Empire. It was so under Akbar and could not be otherwise under his successors. Supposing that under Aurangzeb the minimum of land revenue demand was fixed at 1/2 throughout the empire. Let us calculate the increase in the revenue

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1. The sentences reads as follows:

که نصف سالم برعایا و نصف سالم بسرکار دولتمدار برسد.

در تشخیص بنحوی بپردازند که نصف سالم برعایا و نصف بلا فرج بسرکار عالیمقدار برسد.

demand in Ajmer. Under Akbar in Ajmer the peasant had to pay one-seventh or one-eighth of the produce as of the land revenue demand. Under Aurangzeb he would have to pay one-half. This would mean an increase of 300% in the land revenue demand fixed under Akbar, which is almost preposterous. Thus a critical examination of the probable inference reveals that it does not fit in with the facts of the agrarian history. Moreover, the relevant evidence elsewhere reveals that one-half of the produce constituted the maximum and not the minimum of the land revenue demand.[1]

Some valuable information is available in a farman contained in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi. It was addressed to Muhammad Hashim, the Diwan of Gujrat in the year 1079 A.H. 1668 A.D. But the preamble of the farman states that the regulations contained in it were framed for all the provinces of the imperial territory and that they were framed in accordance with the Muslim law. The preamble adds that the collections should be made in accordance with the regulations contained in the farman and no fresh orders should be sought. Thus the preamble suggests that the farman under f feference may be accepted as the statement of the land revenue policy of Aurangzeb. The important points dealing with the share of the State, contained in the farman, may be briefly summarised.[2] The regulations laid down that the land revenue should

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1. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p.270; Nigar Nama-i-Munshi, p.154

2. Ibid, pp. 265-272.

be fixed to a maximum of 1/2 of the produce, and that the magnitude of land revenue demand, under no circumstances, should exceed the 1/2 of the produce.[1] In places where the land revenue demand had been fixed at more than 1/2 of the produce, it should be reduced. As a matter of principle the land revenue had to be fixed in accordance with the paying capacity of the peasants. Due recognition should be given to the local condition and the land revenue demand obtaining in a particular area had to be retained. The fact that due recognition was given to the agrarian conditions obtaining in particular area is also indicated by the adoption of ghallah bakhshi or crop sharing in areas where the peasants were distressed and indigent. In such areas even reduced rates were applied, and the revenue demand ranged between 1/3 and 1/2.[2]

Thus we can reasonably conclude that the land revenue demand varied according to the social and agrarian conditions obtaining in different areas and that it ranged between 1/3 to 1/2. Secondly, we note that 1/2 constituted the maximum and not the minimum of the land revenue demand. Thirdly, it was a general principle to give due consideration to the agrarian conditions of a particular area and the revenue demand was fixed in accordance with the paying capacity of the peasants. Any increase in the revenue demand that would uproot the peasantry and ruin the cultivation was explicitly disapproved.[3]

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1. Cf. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi p,154
2. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi ff. 129,130
3. Mirat-i-Ahmadi I p.270

So far we have been examining the magnitude of land revenue demand known as mal which was assessed on the cultivated land in accordance with the fixed rates for the share of the State. We have noted that under Akbar certain extra collections over and above the mal were made by the land revenue administration and they were known as wajuhat. It appears that in the reign of Aurangzeb a number of wajuhat which were also known as jihat were merged into mal and the former as well as the latter were collected in a consolidated form. Under the head mal-o-jihat.[1] Unfortunately the wajuhat[2] collected under Akbar by the revenue administration have not been specified. Neither they are enumerated in the Khulasat-us-Siyaq. As such it is not possible to form an idea of the magnitude of the extra collections made over and above the mal from those who were engaged in agriculture. But we can reasonably suggest that the magnitude of the total revenue demand from the peasants exceeded the fixed rates for mal which varied from place to place. However, the available evidence strongly suggests that the total collections from the peasants made under the head mal and jihat did not exceed the limit of 1/2 of the produce. This seems to be the magnitude of land revenue demand according to the law of the land, till the end of the 17th century.

For the first half of the 18th century little evidence is

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1. Khulasat-us-Siyaq f.22b
2. It appears that wajuhat were most probably also referred to as abwab. A large number of these cesseswere remitted by Akbar and the remaining ones were merged into the mal or land revenue. For a fuller discussion see Appendix C.

available on the subject and is primarily confined to one single source, namely the Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas. The work was compiled in the early years of Muhammad Shah and the documents contained in it relate to the Sarkar of Sambhal Moradabad. The relevant passages state that the assessment should be made in such a way that one half of the produce should be realised as the share of the State and the other half should be completely left with the peasants.[1] This, as we know, is also the familiar expression to indicate the share of the State in earlier sources such as the Nigar Nama-i-Munshi and the Khulasat-us-Siyaq. We have already examined the various implications of the recurring expression in our authorities in some detail in the above lines, and, therefore, we do not propose to enter into any further discussion. We have taken it to indicate the maximum of the land revenue demand made upon the peasants. It appears that the expression indicated the same in the first half of the 18th century. We learn from the Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas that in crop sharing the share of the State varied between 1/4th or even less to 1/2.[2] The inference is obvious that 1/2 of the produce constituted the maximum of the land revenue demand. Thus in the absence of any evidence contrary to the proposition we can tentatively suggest that the magnitude of land revenue demand in the first half of the 18th century remained the same as it was under Aurangzeb, or Akbar.

This was more or less the magnitude of the land revenue demand,

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1. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas ff. 63, 64, 71

2. Ibid, f.71.

as we find them laid down in the revenue regulations. How far the practice conformed to the revenue regulations is a matter of conjecture. The evidence on the point is rather negligible and even conflicting inferences can be drawn from stray reference in the historical literature of the period. However, it may be generally presumed that on account of the weakening of the central authority in the first half of the 18th century the local officers, *jagirdars* and *ijaradars* were not induced to pay adequate attention to the revenue regulations of the State. In fact they were given a free hand to deal with the situation as they liked and therefore in actual practice they might have realised more than was sanctioned by the law. It is to be conceded that there is some truth in the argument. But it may be pointed out that the weakening of the central authrity meant a corresponding weakening of the local authority as well. The *zamindar* in the period under our study emerged more powerful than his predecessor in the 17th century. And it is to be noted that generally it was the *zamindar*, and the peasant who entered an engagement to pay the land revenue. In fact there are indications that the class of powerful *zamindars*, in the first half of the 18th century seldom missed an opportunity to defy the authority of the local officials and tried to evade the payment of land revenue. Even when he did pay, it was not without a protracted bargaining. Thus a *jagirdar* or an officer, if not very powerful, was generally faced with a difficult situation and could hardly hope to realise even the land revenue which was assessed according to the revenue regulation and

and had obtained the sanction of the local custom. On the other hand, a powerful officer or *jagirdar* could, if he chose, collect more than what was due. But the prospect of a ruined peasantry and deserted villages might have counselled him some restraint. Thus the actual practice depended on more than one factor and it was bound to differ from place to place. In fact some idea of the actual practice might be formed if the local studies are conducted. Till we are in a position to do so the subject may be left open for further investigation.

CHAPTER IX

MAUZA OR THE VILLAGE

The unit of assessment in the first half of the 18th century was known as mauza or the village. It comprised arable land, abadi or the village site, pools, groves, nullah and forest or waste lands.[1] The boundaries of the village were demarcated[2] and the villages varied within wide limits as to the area entered against them. But an average village might contain about one thousand bighas of arable land.[3] The land under cultivation was divided into plots each marked by raised borders and probably each field was denoted by a particular number. A village, it appears contains thousands of such plots.[4] The peasants remebered each field with a proper noun[5] as they do even today.

An ordinary village might be expected to contain, in addition to the zamindars, Muqaddams, the peasants, known as asami or mazares, landless labourers, the village servants or the khidmati parja . We have already examined the position, the rights and functions of the village zamindar in some detail. The landless

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1. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri f. 41b.cf. Garden of India p.
2. Ain-i-Akbari I p.200; Diwan-i-Pasand f.7b,
3. Diwan-i-Pasand f.8a.
4. Diwan-i-Pasand f.8a
5. Allahabad Documents No.302. The names of the field given in the document read as:

labourers, although forming an important section of the village population, did not possess land and, therefore, their position lies beyond the scope of our discussion. An attempt is made in these lines to examine the position of the peasants in the village economy in some detail and their relations with the village servants will also be briefly noticed.

Peasants:

Before we proceed to examine the relevant evidence about the peasants contained in our authorities it may be pointed out that the present writer will be using the word peasant in a sense different from the one in which it was used by Late Mr.Moreland. For me the peasant signifies the cultivator who might or might not have enjoyed the occupancy right but he never held an hereditary and transferrable right in the soil tilled by him. Such a cultivator in the Persian chronicles and documents is described as kashtkar, muzara, asami or ryot. According to Late Mr.Moreland the peasantry included the Brotherhood or village zamindars, the peasants living in the village and the peasants living in another village and coming in to work.[1] However, we will be using it in a restricted sense which excludes the village zamindars. The reason for the use of the word peasant in a restricted sense and different from the one in which it was used by the distinguished writer is an anxiety to avoid the confusion which would be created in the mind of a student of the subject

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1. Agrarian System of Moslem India, p.161. It has been noted by Mr.Moreland in the foot notes that in the records the peasants forming the Brotherhood are usually called village zamindars, pattidars, or coparceners (p.161 f.n.)

to whom the word zamindar signifies something quite different from one who cultivated the land, paid land revenue but claimed no transferrable rights in it. Our Persian authorities have clearly differentiated between one who belonged to the socio-economic class of the zamindars and the one who came from the unprivileged mass of the ryots. The land was tilled by the ryots or peasants as wellas by the cultivating zamindars, but the important difference between the two was that the one belonged to a class, claiming rights and ninterests in land which were hereditary and transferrable, whereas the other could not put forth any such claims and even his right of occupancy could be successfully disputed. Thus it will be readily seen that the use of the word peasant in a sense which ignores the essential difference between the two important sections of the agricultural community is rather treacherous and tends to understate the basic, social and economic difference which subsisted between the two classes and which has been invariably assumed by our Persian authorities.

Peasant in the Ain:

With these preliminary remarks we may now turn to trace the position of the peasant in the agricultural community that he occupied under Akbar. Meagre as it may appear, the evidence contained in the Ain helps us to form an idea of the agricultural community in the village and also throws some light on the position of cultivator. A careful examination of the two sections[1] reveals

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1. Ain-i-Amal Guzar and Ain-i-Bitikchi.

that the peasant occupied a somewhat subordinate position to persons who are referred to as kalantoran-i-dah and rais.[1] We read about the rais-i-dah who was closely associated with the work of assessment. He was paid in the form of grant of land or otherwise according to the amount of the service put in by him.[2] Similarly, klanteran i-dah, when read in the context in which phrase has been used suggests that these persons enjoyed a superior economic and social position to that of the peasants, and in fact they were regarded as potential oppressors of the peasants, in case the nasaq arrangements were made with them and it was left to them to distribute the assessed land revenue over the holdings of individual cultivators.[3] We also note the presence of the Muqaddam in the village but he appears more in the role of a semi-official who recorded the measurement operations along with the Patwari and was also associated with the work of collection.[4] Thus a careful analysis of the two sections in the Ain reveals that the agricultural community in a village was divided into two broad categories, those who were vested with interests and rights of a superior nature in land and those who occupied a subordinate position in the economic structure of a village. Those who belonged to the first category have been variously referred to as rais, kalantar, and ayan. We have examined elsewhere that certain persons, even in the reign of Akbar, held certain rights a in land which were hereditary and transferrable in their

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1. Ain-i-Akbari I pp.198-200; Kalantoran-i-dah refers to those who occupied a superior social and economic position in the village and rais signifies one who owned property.
2. Ibid, I p.198
3. Ibid I p.199
4. Ibid I p.199,200

nature and such persons were recorded in the documents as _zamindars_ We have also observed that such _zamindars_ were village _zamindars_ who were quite distinct from the tributary chiefs, and we could meet them almost in all the _mahals_ of the Empire. These facts, when read together with the inferences drawn on the basis of evidence available in the two sections of the _Ain_ lend strong support to the proposition that the words _rais_, _kalantar_ and _ayan_ represent those interests in land which have been identified by us with the village _zamindars_ Thus a village under Akbar contained the village _zamindars_ and the peasants or cultivators who have been variously recorded in the _Ain_ as _kashwarz_, _bazargar_ and ryots and it were they who really formed the peasantry in the Indian sense of the word. Now it remains to ascertain the actual position occupied by the peasants in the agricultural community of a village.

Direct relationship:

An examination of the relevant passages indicates that direct relationship existed between the government and the peasants. We are told that the agreement about the revenue demand with individual cultivators was duly recorded against the name of the individual cultivators. We read in the same section that after the completion of assessment operation the revenue demand against each peasant was noted and the total demand against the village was accordingly prepared.[1] Elsewhere the Amil has been instructed

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1. _Ain-i-Akbari_, p.200

that he was required to estimate the area of the damaged crops in the course of measurement operation, prepare a note and hand it over to the peasants on that very day. The evidence under reference implies that generally the assessment was made directly on the holdings of the individual peasant and that immediate redress was available to him if some damage was done to his crops. Moreover, positive instructions were issued to the Amal Guzar not to make nasaq arrangement with the kalantoran-i-dah as it would lead to oppression and the weak (peasants) would suffer. He was on the other hand advised to approach the individual cultivators and hand over the deed of agreement to him.[1]

The relevant evidence also indicates that in matters of collection direct relationship between the peasants and government existed. The individual peasant was entitled to pay the land revenue directly to the person authorised by the government to collect the land revenue.[2] The land revenue administration under Akbar did not favour the collection of land revenue through an intermediary and the Amil was instructed to see that the peasant should twice or thrice see the treasurer and deposit the land revenue with him[3], so that the evil caused by the exacting and wicked intermediaries could be eradicated. Again the Amil was required to instruct the Patwari of every village to note the collections made from the ryots in detail in a memorandum and hand it over to the ryots.[4] This memorandum was known

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1. Ain-i-Akbari I p.199
2. It appears that Muqaddams and Patwari were authorised to collect the land revenue from the peasants. (Ain I p.200)
3. Ibid, I p.199
4. Ibid, I p.200

as yaddasht or sarkhat.[1] We again read in the Ain-i-Akbari that the Bitickchi was required to adjust the accounts without keeping the ryots in waiting when they approached him for the adjustment of their accounts.[2] The evidence summarised above bears strong indications that generally the collections were made directly from the peasants and where the work was done through intermediaries it was disapproved by the Revenue Ministry.

Thus our investigations reveal that direct relationship existed between the government and the peasants, in matters of assessment as well as in collection. One might be tempted to argue that the evidence contained in the Ain may be taken to represent the ideal rather than the actual practice. However, evidence relating to a subsequent period indirectly indicates that under Akbar the assessment was made on the holdings of individual cultivators and not on the entire village.[3] We will soon be examining the evidence under reference in some detail. Here it should suffice to note that the evidence in the Ain tends more to indicate the actual practice than the ideal. Variations in practice cannot be ruled out in a large empire like that of Akbar but may be tentatively suggested that in the majority of the villages the peasants came in direct relationship with the government.[4]

But such a reading of the evidence contained in the Ain

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1. Ain-i-Akbari I p.200
2. Ibid, I p.201
3. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi ff.129-131; Khulasat-us-Siyaq f.23 b
4. See Todar Mal's proposals, Akbar Nama III pp. 381-383.

appears to be self-contradictory in as much as the presence of intermediary has been taken to be incompatible with direct relationship between the government and the peasants. An examination of the position of the village zamindars or intermediaries, discussed elsewhere in greater detail, will, however, reveal that apparent contradiction owes its origin to misleading conception of the village zamindars under the Mughals. The village zamindar under Akbar and his successors held certain rights and interests in land which were hereditary and transferrable in nature. Moreover, he was associated with the local land revenue administration in connection with cultivation of arable land collection of land revenue. He was required to ensure that all the arable land in his zamindari was brought under cultivation. He received something for his proprietary rights in land where it was brought under cultivation. The proceeds for his proprietary rights were known as malikanah. For his services rendered to the State in connection with cultivation of land and he was entitled to a subsistence allowance known as nankar, which in fact was a commission on the total collections and could be paid either in the form of revenue free land or in cash. However, if a zamindar did not engage for the collection of assessed land revenue he forfeited the nankar rights and was entitled to only malikanah.[1] Thus a zamindar did not lose his right or interest in land if he did not engage for the collection of land revenue as an intermediary and such an engagement was a matter of agreement

1. Wilson's Glossary p.367, vide Bengal Reg.VII, 1793; X XV, XXVII, 1803, IX 1805.

between the government and the _zamindars_. The initiative to make an offer rested with the government and it could withhold it if it chose to do so. Similarly, a _zamindar_ was entitled to accept or refuse the offer to engage for the collection and payment of land revenue. This appears to be the legal position of the _zamindar_ under the Mughals. However, under Akbar, in actual practice, the land revenue administratio chose to collect the land revenue directly from the cultivators. As such we can reasonably suggest that the position of the _zamindar_ under Akbar did not preclude direct relationship between the peasants and the government and the presence of intermediary or the village _zamindar_ was not incompatible with the practice of direct assessment on the holdings of the individual cultivators and direct collection from them. The arrangement of revenue assessment and collection under Akbar did not violently interfere with the rights and interest of the widely spread and strongly rooted class of the _zamindars_ and perhaps in the given conditions of the time it was not possible to do so. However, by maintaining direct relationship with the peasants the land revenue administration did much to save the peasants from many possible oppressions which could issue from active participation of the _zamindars_ in the work of assessment and collection. The arrangements appears to have been a happy compromise between the various parties which had an interest in land and the presence of _zamindar_ might also act as a deterrant against the malpractices of corrupt government officers.

The relevant evidence relating to the reign of Aurangzeb and

to the post-Aurangzeb period, however, indicates that in the first half of the 18th century the relative positions of peasants and intermediaries had undergone considerable change which tended to weaken or even eliminate the direct relationship between the government and the peasants. These development can be traced in a number of documents contained in the Nigar-Nama-i-Munshi, the Khulasat-us-Siyaq, the Hidayat-ul-Qawanin and the Dastur-ul-Amal-i- -Bikas. An examination of the relevant passages reveals that by the reign of Aurangzeb the holdings of individual cultivators no longer formed the unit of assessment but the revenue demand was fixed for the entire village on the basis of previous records. The earliest notice of the change is available in the farman issued to Rasikdas Karori in the 8th regnal year of Aurangzeb. The farman notes that the jama of the most of the villages of the parganas in the Empire was assessed in the beginning of the year on the basis of records showing the maximum collections, collections for the past year, the area of arable land and the resources of the ryots. In other words group assessment on the basis of previous records was the general practice. The farman points out that the practice was not desirable either in the interest of ryots or for the prosperity of the country. The local officers were advised to revert back to the practice of assessing the holdings of the individual cultivators.[1] The advice, it appears, was ignored by the local land revenue administration, as is indicated by a passage

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1. Mughal Administration pp.190-198; Nigar Nama-i-Munshi ff.129-131

contained in the Khulasat-us-Siyaq, a work compiled in the closing years of Aurangzeb's reign. The passage under reference describes the general practice which obtained in assessing the land revenue and adds that the Amin examined the mawaznah papers for the last ten or 20 years of every village of the pargana, noted the jama-i-kamil and jama for the last two years, assessed the jama in lump sum and distributed it over the village in consultation with Chaudharis, and Qanungos. The method of assessment, described in the passage, it may be pointed out, in nasaq in its form of group assessment which was disapproved by Akbar. The passage notes the evil effects of the group assessment and points out that such a practice enabled the leading men to under assess their own holdings and those of their relations and transfer the burden on the villages where land was tilled by the ryots.[1] It is added that an Amin who is efficient, experienced and a man of integrity ascertained the conditions obtainining in each village and assessed the land revenue on the holdings of individual cultivators. The inference is that practice to assess the holdings of individual cultivator was still regarded as an ideal but it was in the actual fact an exception and associated only with the Amins of exceptional ability and integrity. The evidence also suggests that the land revenue administration had not yet lost the memory of the direct relationship between the government and the peasant which subsisted in the reign of Akbar. There is some evidence to show that by the reign of Aurangzeb the practice of collecting

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1. Khulasat-us-Siyaq, f.23b

the land revenue through thm an intermediary had become quite common. The peasant had lost contact, at least in majority of the villages, with the government. The assessment was made not on the holdings of the individual cultivator but on the entire village and the distribution of the assessed land revenue was left in the hands of intermediaries who also engaged for the payment of the assessed land revenue.[1]

Our investigations based on the evidence relating to the reign of Aurangzeb are directly confirmed and corroborated by evidence contained in the works compiled in the post Aurangzeb period. The instructions about the method of assessment contained in the Hidayat-ul-Qawanin indicate that group assessment was the general practice in the years that followed the death of Aurangzeb. We learn that the assessment was made on the basis of previous records and revenue settlement was signed by the Muqaddams. The zamindars were required to endeavour for the extension of land under cultivation and pay the land revenue as assessed by the Amin. The provision was made that after the payment of land revenue the zamindars could save something for themselves.[2] An examination of the evidence summarized above will reveal that the position of the zamindars as intermediaries to engage for the land revenue was duly recognised. The zamindars continued to occupy the position of intermediary for purposes of assessment and collection in the remaining years of the first half of the 18th century.

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1. Farhang-i-Kardani f.34 b; Khulasat-us-Siyaq f.19b
2. Hidayat-ul-Qawanin, f.27 b, 28b

The patta (lease) reproduced in the Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas indicates that the zamindars and Muqaddams engaged for the payment of land revenue.[1] According to the author of the Diwan-Pasand in every mauza or village there were a number of Muqaddams or the owners of the village and subordinate to them were a few hundred persons known as asami or mazaras. These asamis tilled the land and paid the land revenue to the government through the Muqaddams.[2] We read elsewhere in the same authority that it was a common practice to settle the land revenue with the zamindars and such a settlement was known as jama-i-mushakhhas. Only when a zamindar, for one reason or other, declined to enter into an engagement for the assessed land revenue that the collections were showing revenue demand against each cultivator. Such a practice was known as amal-i-kham.[3]

Peasant in the 18th century:

We had noted that in the first half of the 18th century the direct relationship between the government and peasants had ceased to exist; the group assessment had become the common practice and land revenue was collected through the intermediaries, village zamindars or the Muqaddams. It remains to investigate the nature of the right or interest in the land enjoyed by the peasants. The evidence on the point is rather meagure but an attempt shall be madeto piece together the information available in our authorities. The important points of our investigation will be to examine the relationship that

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1. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas f.67a, 68b
2. Diwan-Pasand f.7 b
3. Ibid, f.15ab.

subsisted between the peasants and the zamindar; to ascertain the nature of occupancy rights of the peasants and to form an idea about the general economic condition of the peasants. The Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas contains a muchilka or undertaking given by the zamindars or Muqaddams which throws some light on some of the points under investigation. It appears that the zamindars were entitled to collect the land revenue from the peasants as shown in the assessment accounts. The zamindars were also entitled to ask the peasants to plough their fields without any payment for the services rendered by, the peasants. But the zamindars could not demand more than what was customary in the area. The passage also indicates that peasants had some occupancy rights in the land. The zamindars gave an undertaking to the effect that they would not cause any peasant of the village to leave it. Moreover, if for one reason or another a peasant left the village they would conciliate the absconding peasant in the following year, re-settle him in the village and pursuade him to cultivate his holdings However, if the peasant did not resettle in the village, his holding would be divided among the zamindars.[1] Thus the evidence under examination tends to suggest that in certain areas the peasant did not only enjoy the occupancy rights in land but this right remained unimpaired even in his absence provided he returned to the village and engaged himself in cultivation of his field within a year of absconding from the village.

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1. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas f.66

Some confirmatory evidence relating to the right of occupancy is also available in the Dastur-ul-Amal of Mahdi Ali Khan. The first of the regulations contained in the Dastur-ul-Amal lays down that ryots who held their land in hereditary rights for a long time should not be ousted from the village. They should be under no circumstances be ejected from the hereditary lands occupied by the family of the peasant for a long time. Such land could be however, resumed if a peasant withdrew his claim of his own accord. Land so abandoned should be given to some one who held land in hereditary rights.[1] The regulations under reference indicates that certain peasants held their lands in hereditary rights and that such rights were inviolable, except when such a peasant absconded or disclaimed his rights of his own accord.

We have noted the presence of hereditary ryots who could not be ejected. Evidence available in a work prepared in the late 18th century indicates that in Bengal the cultivators were grouped into three classes namely the pattadar ryots, fasli ryots and pai kasht ryots. The pattadar ryots seem to have enjoyed a superior position because they engaged for ten bighas of land and paid the land reven[ue] for it but actually cultivated fifteen bighas of land. As such the[y] were men of some means. The fasli ryots engaged every year for the land they brought under cultivation and paid the land revenue for [it]. They are described to be without any means. Non-resident cultiva[tors] were known as pai kasht and paid the land revenue for the land c[ulti]vated by them.[2] An examination of the relevant evidence summari[...]

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1. Dastur-ul-Amal of Mahdi Ali Khan f.1b

2. Risalah-i-Ziraat f.9b.cf. Agrarian System p.161 Non-resident peasants were called, as they still are calle[d] pai-kasht, but with varied spelling e.g. pyekoost).Residen[t] peasants were called either as now chapparband, or else kh[...]sht (f.n.p.161).

in the preceding lines tends to suggest that hereditary ryots (رعیت موروثی), *pattadar* ryots and *khudkast* ryots belongedto a privileged class of the cultivators and perhaps all these terms signify cultivators who enjoyed occupancy right in land and whose holdings were assessed on a comparatively lighter rates than those of the others such as the *fasli* and *pai kasht* ryots. A number of documents relating to the province of Awadh indicate that in certain areas it was a well established practice to write down the terms and conditions such as the amount to be paid and the period for which theland was acquired by the peasants from the *zamindars*.[1] The documents under reference are the deed or deeds of acceptance on the part of the peasants but they suggest that in turn the *zamindars* wouldhhave given *pattas* or lease-deeds to the peasants. On this presumption we can suggest that *pattadar* ryots were also found in the province of Awadh.

Thus a careful examination of the available evidence seems to indicate that in the first half of the 18th century the position of the peasants was considerably weakened as they had lost the direct relationship with the government. The distribution of the assessed land revenue was largely left in the hands of the intermediaries who were also entitled to collect the land revenue from the peasants. Such an arrangement gave ample opportunity to the *zamindars* toexploit the peasants, if they chose to do so. How the power and privileges vested in the *zamindars* were exercised is a matter of conjecture. We have not been able to trace any evidence to indicate the manner in which the power given to the zamindars was utilised. However, there are indications that a considerably large number of peasants enjoyed the

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1. Allahabad Documents Nos. 229, 324, 329

occupancy right in land and they were not reduced to the position of tenants-at-will as became the case in the early 19th century. The provision for protecting the ryots against ejection, and the practice of executing deed of acceptance for acquiring land for cultivation for a specified period indicates that in certain areas the land was considered valuable and there might have been some pressure on land. In ~~th~~ view of the facts noted above, no generalisation about the wide-spread scarcity of peasants and abundance of land waiting for men can be safely made. We can only suggest that there were areas where land was abundant and peasants were not available to bring it under cultivation. On the other hand, there were such tracts of the country where no additional arable lands were available and it could be acquired either by purchase or by ejecting the peasants. It may also be pointed out that in areas where enough additional land was available for cultivation the question of ejection was of little practical importance. But in other areas, where it was not easy to acquire enough new land for cultivation the question of ejection and the right of occupancy in land had acquired considerable practical importance for the agricultural community as well as for the local administration. This appears to be the significance of the provision for vesting the right of occupancy in the cultivators who were known as hereditary, pattadar or khudkasht ryots.

Conditions of the peasants:

There is no specific evidence to indicate the economic condition of the peasants in the period under study. We know that the peasant had to pay from 1/3 to 1/2 of the produce according to productivity

of the land which varied from place to place. We can also note that he had to pay something over and above the land revenue demand in the form of various taxes which were collected from him to pay the Patwari, the Qanungo, and the Chaudhari. Thus his net share in the produce was less than 1/3 or 1/2 of the produce. We have also noted that the weakening of the administration at all levels andthe practice of ijarahdari had adversely affected the interests of the agricultural community and specially those of cultivators. But there are indications that the ijarahdar sooner or later vacated the village and the original zamindars were restored. Thus the period lacked stability in the administrative practices which was not conducive to the well-being of the peasants. The available facts, therefore, tend to suggest that an average peasant could not have been a man of any considerable means. Most probably he lived from handto mouth. However, it is difficult to form any idea about the average income of an ordinary peasant. It depended on more than one factor. The caste of the peasants, the type of the village-- whether the peasantry or the village zamindars formed the majority in the village, whether the village zamindars lived in an adjoining village and the entire land in the village in question was tilled by the peasants - the pressure on land determining the area of average holding, the integrity or otherwise of the Amil were some important facts which determined the income and means of the peasants. These facts will have to be investigated on a regional basis before we can arrive at any conclusion approximating the real state of affairs. At present all that we can say is that there were peasants who were men of some

means or what is known in rural India as hasiyatdar (literally men of means). In fact, these inferences are supported by the evidence contained in the Risalah-i-Ziraat. We are told that pattadar ryots were men of means whereas the fasli ryots were destitute of any means.[1] Such stray references which depict the Indian peasantry as naked and starving teeming millions seem to be a vicious exaggeration of the facts noted in a particular region with pre-conceived notion of poverty and propperity without any proper perspective of the life in the rural Hindustan. It is difficult to believe that a peasantry, the majority of which lived at the verge of starvation did meet the exacting demands of the greedy and oppressive ijarahdar or an Amil and yet managed to save itself from complete extinction. At the present stage of our knowledge it is better to leave the subject open till more definite and conclusive evidence is forthcoming to assess the lot of the peasantry in the first half of the 18th century.

Muqaddam:

Muqaddam literally means the first man and has been rendered into English as the headman. In the revenue literature of the Mughal period the word has been used loosely to signify the holder of an office in the land revenue administration at the village level, a zamindar, a representative of the peasants or of the zamindars, a person occupying the dual position of a servant of the zamindar and the representative of the peasants. The Muqaddam appears in the Ain as the holder of an office at the village level. He was

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1. Risalah-i-Ziraat, f.9b

associated with the work of assessment and collection; he recorded the measurement operations along with the Karkun and the Patwari,[1] maintained taujih or the assessment account,[2] collected the land revenue and deposited it in the pargana treasury[3]. In a document dated 1072 A.H./1661 A.D. the Muqaddam appears to be occupying the dual position of the Karindah or the manager of the zamindar and the representative of the peasants in the village.[4] We learn from another document dated 1060 A.H./1650 A.D. that there was a dispute between the two parties in a village about the collections made under the heads of muqaddami and biswai or sattarhi. They agreed, we are told, to divide the collections made under the two heads in equal halves between themselves. In the document under reference the muqaddami rights have been used as quite distinct from the sattarhi or biswai rights, which as we have noted in an earlier section, was another name for the zamindari or proprietary rights. The inference is that the parties to the dispute held the dual position of the owners of land and the holders of the office of the muqaddami. Incidentally we note that the office could be held by more than on person. The relevant evidence in the Dastur-ul-Amal Baikas indicates that they occupied a position similar to that of the village zamindars. They engaged for the payment of assessed land revenue and gave an undertaking to the effect that all arable land in the village would be brought under cultivation.[5]

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1. Ain-i-Akbari I p.199
2. Ibid, p.200
3. Ibid I p.200
4. Allahabad Documents No.375
5. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Baikas ff. 31,32; Farhang-i-Kardani f.34 b, 64,65.

In a later work the Muqaddams has been defined as the owner of land. We are told that in every village there were many Muqaddams i.e. owners of the village and a large number of persons subordinate to them were known as asami or the cultivators, who tilled the land and paid land revenue through the Muqaddams.[1] In the passage under reference it appears, that Muqaddam has been used ass a variant for the zamindar. The inference is supported by an evidence contained in the same authority where the zamindar is described as an intermediary who engaged for land revenue.[2] Thus the author of Diwan Pasand does not differentiate between zamindar and Muqaddam and uses the terms to signify an intermediary who engaged for land revenue and also held proprietary right in land.

From the reports compiled in the first quarter of the 19th century it appears that in some districts of the Doab the Muqaddams were representatives of village cultivators who claimed proprietary right in land. Such a right was not disputed yet they were usually ascribed to a class, different from the village zamindars.[3] In the district of Delhi and in the districts adjoining to it the Muqaddams were recognised as the representative of the village zamindars.[4] In many districts, we are told, many estates were found where no village zamindars or proprietors were forthcoming to engage for land revenue. In these districts the collections were made from the ryots who possessed no proprietary rights in the land. The collections were usually

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1. Diwan Pasand ff. 7b, 8 a
2. Diwan Pasand f.15ab
3. Revenue Selections pp.91-92
4. Ibid, p.92

made through the representatives of the ryots who were known as Muqaddams.[1] The Muqaddam, we learn from the report, in some cases appeared as an old zamindar, who had sold his property but still continued to cultivate his paternal fields. Being the leading man in the village he still preserved his influence and therefore he was employed by the purchaser or the new <u>zamindar</u> to manage the village on his behalf in the character of a ryot-muqaddam.

Thus the records compiled by the early British administrators substantively confirm the inferences based on the evidence contained in the Persian sources. We might conclude by saying that the Muqaddam held certain interest in land and generally he occupied a representative position in the agricultural community. He might represent the <u>zamindars</u> or the peasants and at times he represented both. In certain areas, however, he was treated more or less on the same footing as a <u>zamindar</u>.

<u>Perquisites:</u>

In his position as the represenstative of the agricultural community the Muqaddam served the community as well as the government For the services rendered by him he was paid either in cash or some land was granted to him. We have noted that certain persons were entitled to the collections made under the muqaddami dues.[2] The Muqaddam was also be granted some land for services rendered by him and such a grant of land was known as <u>nankar</u>.[3] It appears that the <u>nankar</u> grant

1. Revenue Selections p.92
2. Allahabad Documents No.275
3. <u>Dastur-ul-Amal-Alamgiri</u> f.110 a, also see f.53b,. A passage in <u>Farhang-i-Kardani</u>, however, notes that the Muqaddams were entitled to <u>inam</u> or grant of rent free land whereas the Chaudharis were entitled to <u>nankar</u>. (see f.29)

was made over and above the muqaddami dues. The Amil was required to maintain among other papers the tumar or register showing the adjustments made on account of the nankar and muqaddami dues. He also maintained a register showing the area of land held by the Muqaddams.[1] According to the Board's report of 1808 the nankar lands were held in some cases by the proprietor of the soil in others. It was held by persons totally unconnected with proprietary right in land such as Qanungo, their gumashtas, Muqaddams , Chaudharies and Qaziz.[2] Thus it appears that the Muqaddams were entitled to two perquisites namely muqaddami and the nankar. Muqaddami was most probably a commission on the total collections whereas the nankar was a grant of rent - free land.

Village servants:

We have noted that an ordinary village contained the village zamindars, the peasants, the landless labourer and the village servants, who still in certain rural areas are known as the khidmati parja. They served the entire village community and specially the agricultural community of the village, the zamindars and the peasants. No account of the village servants, except that of Patwari is available in the Persian records but the important village servants have been noted in the reports of the revenue officers in the early 19th century. The description of the village servants contained in the British records is corroborated by the presence of hereditary village servants even today in most of the villages in the country which is

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1. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri f.110 a
2. Revenue Selections p.189

now known as Uttar Pradesh. The important among the village servants, it appears, were the lohar or blacksmith, the barahee or carpenter, naee or the barber and dhobee or the washerman.[1] In some villages the sweeper also came under the head of village servant. Generally, the village servants were paid in kind and the practice continues eventoday. According to the report submitted by the collector of Agra for every plough on the estate it was customary, for the following persons[2] who comprised the village establishment received from the tenants 10 seers of grain or adhyya (seer) on each khet[3] (field). It appears that in some villages saqqah or water carrier was also employed and was paid a similar allowance of grain as above.[4] The dhonook or the village watchman was an important servant in the village. The payment was made either in the form of grain or grant of rent free land.[5] The bhangee or the sweeper was also granted some land but generally speaking the custom was for each house to give daily a rotee or cake.[6]

Patwari:

The Patwari or the village accountant was an important servant in the village. His functions and duties find a notice in the Ain. Later documents hardly throw any light to indicate changes ,if any, in the functions attached to the office of the Patwari. Under the Mughals the Patwari was the writer or the accountant of the village. Each village, we are told, by Abul Fazl, had one Patwari. He was

1. Revenue Selections p.278
2. The Village Establishment comprised blacksmith, carpenter, barber, washerman (Revenue Selections p.278)
3. Revenue Selections 278
4. Ibid 278
5. Ibid 278; In certain areas the pasees served as village watchmen.
6. Revenue Selections, p.278

employed on behalf of the cultivators and was paid one percent of commission on the collections made under the head sad-doi of Patwari.[1] As to his functions he noted the measurement operations along with the Muqaddam and Karkun and attested the consolidated accounts of assessment.[2] He was also associated with the work of collection and he entered in detail the collections made from the ryots in a memorandum which was handed over to the peasants.[3] This memorandum was known as sarkhat. He was authorised to collect the money and deposit it in the pargana treasury.[4] He maintained the nuskha-i-taujih or the accounts of assessment, and the accounts of receipts and arrears.[5] We learn elsewhere that the Patwari maintained a complete account of all collections made by the Amil in the local language. The account was known as kaghz-i-kham which was translated into Persian by the regular staff in order to detect the misappropriations on the part of the Amil.[6]

It appears that in the early years of the 19th century the Patwari was paid by the zamindar who, in his own turn, collected a tax, known as dami from the peasants at the rate of six pie on each rupee as the right of the Patwari.[7] In a document dated 1154 we read about the dami collected by the zamindar from the peasants at the rate of one fulus per bigha which was over and above the sattarhi or zamindari dues.[8] In case the dami under reference can be identified with the dami described in the Revenue Selections as the right of the Patwari collected by the zamindars, we can reasonably suggest that

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1. Ain-i-Akbari I p.209, sad-doi literally means two percent
2. Ibid, p.199
3. Ibid, p.199
4. Ibid, p.200
5. Ibid, p.200
6. Khulasat-us-Siyaq f.43 b, 44 a,
7. Revenue Selections pp.278-79
8. Allahabad Documents No.329. The document under reference adds

(Contd. on next page)

in the first half of the 18th century the Patwari was actually paid by the peasants through the *zamindar*. The inference is corroborated by the evidence contained in the Ain and quoted in the above lines.

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that the rates for *dami* were the same as in the past. The inference is that the *dami* was collected from the peasant even even in the 17th and 18th century.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The three decades that intervened between the death of Aurangzeb and the invasion of Nadir Shah cover the period of political and administrative disintegration of the Mughal Empire. In 1707 it had reached the zenith of its territorial limits and with the defeat of the Marathas as a result of the relentless struggle against them by Aurangzeb the Empire seemed secure against internal revolts and foreign aggression. However, within a few years of Aurangzeb's death the Mughal emperor had to face the revolts of the Sikhs, the Jats and the Rajputs. The Marathas recovered with an amazing and unexpected vigour and once again constituted a serious challenge to the Mughal Empire. The period was also marked by intense factional activities at the Mughal Court which tended to impair the military power and administrative stability of the State. In 1739 Nadir Shah appeared in the Panjab and the Persians won an easy victory against the Mughal forces. The Persian victory revealed the inner weakness of the Mughal power, encouraged centrifugal forces to assert themselves against the central authority and contributed still further to the rapid disintegration of the Mughal Empire.

The rot in the administrative institutions of the Empire had been sapping its vitality since the second half of the 17th century. As the first half of the 18th century wore on the agrarian and administrative crisis began to reflect itself in the form of local

revolts, religious antagonism, factionalism at the court and degeneration of the ruling classes. Thus the crisis gradually tended to become deeper and more complex and ultimately led to the political disintegration of the Empire. A study of the land revenue administration clearly brings out the nature of the administrative crisis with which the Mughal Empire was faced in the first half of the 18th century, and indicates the relationship between the agrarian and administrative crisis and political disintegration.

By the close of the 17th century the institution of *jagirdari* had failed to adopt itself with the changed political and agrarian conditions. The glaring contradiction in the assignment system revealed itself in the form of an overwhelming increase in the number and rank of the *mansabdars* and a corresponding decrease in the available *jagirs* for assignment. The inflated nature of *jama* and keen competition among the descendents of old servants of the Empire and the new claimants to *mansabs* and *jagirs* could be regarded as the direct results of these developments. These tendencies in the *jagirdari* system continued growing and were even accentuated in the years that followed the death of Aurangzeb. However, the most important development in the post-Aurangzeb period was the conversion of the bulk of the *khalsa* lands into *jagirs*. Even this did not ease the situation and the recruitment of emergency forces at intervals on cash basis indicates that either the central government had ceased to exercise control on the *jagirdars* or the highly inflated *jama* figures had reduced the majority of *mansabdars* to such financial distress that

that they could not afford to maintain the contingents they were required to maintain against their mansabs and jagirs. On the other hand, there are indications that a number of mansabdars, who enjoyed a privileged position, had acquired high mansabs and lucrative jagirs, but they did not maintain the requisite number of horsemen and could not be usefully employed in the military service of the State. The total effect of these developments was that the jagirdari system failed to provide the State with a strong and efficient military service and at the same time it failed to provide adequate means of livelihood to a large number of mansabdars and horsemen who were employed in the service of the State.

The crisis in the jagirdari system also affected the efficiency of the administrative system at various levels because Thanedars, Faujdars and Subahdars were in great financial distress on account of the poor yields from their jagirs. Dissatisfied and frustrated jagirdars could not be expected to perform their executive or military duties efficiently as they could neither muster the required contingents nor could they upkeep the other essential staff adequately.

The crisis in the jagirdari system also led to exploitation of the peasantry. Highly inflated jama figures compelled the jagirdar to assess his jagir for a jama which could not be normally realised from zamindars. The zamindars in their own turn either refused to engage for the increased land revenue or transferred the burden on to the peasants. In case they refused to engage for the land revenue the necessary conditions for the appearance of the ijarahdar as an intermediary were created, which meant a more intensive exploitation

of the peasantry.

The decline of the _jagirdari_ system can be traced back to the inherent contradictions which it contained from its very inception. The system, as we have noted, was essentially a mode of payment by assignment of salaries which were fixed in cash. Such practice necessitated the valuation of the estimated income of the Empire which was technically known as _jama_. Under the given agrarian conditions in the Mughal period the wide gap between the estimated income and the actual collections always remained a difficult problem. The nature of the problem was fully revealed as early as the 15th year of Akbar's reign. The _Jama-i-Raqami Qalami_ indicated a highly inflated _jama_ in which the gap between the _jama_ and actual collection was very wide. But the creation of the inflated _jama_ was a political and administrative necessity, because Akbar had to pay a large number of _mansabdars_ in the form of assignments, but the available assignments were very few. Thus the real problem was to fight out the tendency of inflated _jama_ and to maintain a workable relationship between the estimated income from the _jagir_ and the actual collections therefrom and between the total number of _mansabdars_ and horsemen employed in the imperial service.

It may be noted that earnest efforts were made to narrow down the gap between the _jama_ and actual collections under Akbar and preparation of various _jamas_ under Akbar indicates that the land revenue administration under Akbar did succeed in narrowing down the gap between the _jama_ figures and actual collection. Under Jahangir, it

appears, the *jama* figures were highly inflated. When the situation in the *jagirdari* system, under Shahjahan became quite serious and he had to introduce some drastic reforms in the *mansabdari* and *jagirdari* system. He introduced the regulations which have been described as month-scales and month-proportions, which prescribed the claims and obligations of the *mansabdars*. The total effect of these regulations was reduction in the pay scales of the *mansabdars* and a corresponding decrease in the number of horsemen maintained by the *mansabdars*. An examination of the relevant evidence indicates that the attempt to root out the evil of inflated *jama* was direct and intricate. The myth of high *mansabs* and enormous *jama* figures was maintained and it was difficult, at any given time, to ascertain the exact income from the assigned lands. The figures given as actual collections were always a matter of dispute between the revenue ministry and the *jagirdar*. Aurangzeb could not give adequate attention to the details of administration especially during the second half of his reign when he devoted all his time and energies to his mission of rooting out the Marathas. The attempts at reforms under Bahadur Shah were half-hearted and even they were thwarted by the indifference of the Emperor and the machination of his court favourites. A similar fate awaited the belated attempt at reforms by Nizam-ul-Mulk. Consequently, the tendency towards inflated *jama* continued in the first half of the 18th century.

The well-established practice of the constant transfer of *jagirs* was another source of instability for the *jagirdari* system. It did not only lead to rack-renting of the peasants and ruin of the cultivation but also indirectly contributed to an increase in the number of

mansabdars. Generally a long period intervened between the resumption of a jagir and the assignment of an alternative jagir and in the mean-time the resumed jagir was administered by the State officers dealing with the mahal-i-pai-baqi. At any given time a large number of mansabdars, who were on pay roll of the State, were not actually in possession of jagirs. It is true that in due course their claims were adjusted. But the inordinate delay in the process of audit and adjustment gave some more time to the State to withhold the salaries of the mansabdars. Thus the practice of the transfer of jagirs enabled the State to employ at a given time, a certain number of mansabdars for whom normally the necessary funds were not available but the State was under the obligation to adjust their claims against it within an unspecified period. Such an arrangement increased the burden on the exchequer of the State, created a sense of insecurity among the mansabdars and impaired the effieiency of the imperial army.

It may pertinently be asked why no efforts were made to employ only a fixed number of mansabdars and soldiers whose salaries could be fully paid from the available funds from the jagirs, and why no curb was put on the tendency of constant increase in the number of mansabdars. The answer to the question can be found in the constant inflow of immigrant from Iran and Turan, in the political conditions peculiar to Medieval India, and in the feudal tendencies that persisted in the mansabdari system. An examination of the political history of the Mughal period will reveal that with the exception of brief intervals the Mughals army had been constantly employed either in conquerring new territories or in supressing powerful rebels within the Empire.

Under these conditions it was not possible to put a ceiling on the number of the mansabdars and their contingents. Another factor which contributed to the increase in the number of mansabdars was the semi-feudal character of the mansabdari system. Outwardly, the mansabdari system might appear to be a bureaucracy which was created by curbing the power and pretansions of the nobility. The rules and regulations laid down for the recruitment, claims and obligations of mansabdar, the law of escheat and the well established practice of frequent transfer of jagirs lend strong support to the presumption that the powers and pretensions of aristocracy were effectively curtailed and they were organised into an imperial military service. Theoretically even a mansab was not vested with any hereditary right. But beneath the appearance of a bureaucracy the feudal[1] tendencies persisted. In actual practice, the hereditary claims were organised, and in a majority of cases the sons and descendents of a mansabdar were provided with mansabs. In fact, there are indications that for a long time the claims of the descendants of old mansabdars, known as khanah zadan, received special care and attention by the emperors and such persons started their career with considerably high mansabs. Again the landed aristocracy of the country, the Rajputs, the Afghans and the Deccani

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1. Feudal here refers to certain characteristics of the mansabdari system:

    (a) The mansabdars, paid as they were in the form of assignments, held certain interest in land and lived on the appropriation of the surplus produce from it.

    (b) In actual practice the system recognised the hereditary claims of the nobility and the landed aristocracy of the country to mansabs.

Mussalmans were somehow or other accommodated within the frame-work of the *mansabdari* system. Even an attempt was made to accommodate the Marathas but it did not completely succeed. With the passage of time the demand for *mansabs* and *jagirs* grew in number and intensity and the State failed to resist the pressure from the nobility. The political and administrative history of the last quarter of the 17th and first half of the 18th century clearly brings out the keen competition for acquiring *mansabs* and *jagirs*. The rise of the Marathas and the *Jats*, the unrest and periodical revolts in Bundelkhand and Rajputana and the factionalism at the court might have been partially acctuated by political, religious and personal motives but beneath them all lay the hunger for land and territory, which gave the holders a financial stability which was not otherwise possible. The State ultimately succumbed to the ever increasing demand of the ruling classes and even the bulk of *khalsa* lands was assigned as *jagir*. These developments resulted in the political disintegration of the Empire and with the decay of the Empire the class of *jagirdars* also met with its doom. However, some of the most powerful *mansabdars* either asserted their independence or carved out independent principalities for themselves. The Rajput chiefs who were reduced to the status of *jagirdars* threw away the yoke of subservience to the Mughal Empire and became independent. In Awadh, Bengal and in the Deccan powerful nobles carved out independent principalities for themselves.

The practice of *ijarah*, though an old one, reappeared during the reign of Jahangir and continued to gain ground during the course of the 17th century. While it was common in *jagir* lands, in *khalsa* lands it was rather limited, and was permitted only under special

circumstances. However, after the death of Bahadur Shah the practice became wide-spread in _khalsa_ as well as in _jagir_ lands. The development affected the working of the land revenue administration adversely and weakened its stability still further. While there appears to be little justification for the introduction of the practice in _khalsa_ lands, in _jagir_ lands it was the direct result of the inflated _jama_, which normally could not be realised. The _jagirdar_ thought it wiser to content himself with a limited but a sure amount to be realised from the _ijarahdar_ than to manage the _jagirs_ himself and spend a considerable amount and time in doing so without any certainty of the full collections to be made from the _jagirs_. But effects of such an arrangement on _zamindars_ and peasants were ruinous. The revenue-farming gave rise to a class of bankers and speculators who invested their money in revenue-farming and thus emerged as a class of intermediaries apart from the hereditary _zamindars_. The rise of the new class created artificial conditions for a keen competition to engage for land revenue demand which exceeded the normal _jama_. The hereditary _zamindar_ was faced with a difficult position, whether he outbade the _ijarahdar_ or withdrew from the contest he could not escape ruin. The total effect of the practice on a large scale was the ruin of a large number of ancient hereditary _zamindars_ who were replaced either by powerful neighbouring _zamindars_ who gradually carved out _taluqahdaris_ at the cost of the old _zamindars_,[1] or were ousted by the rich bankers from the towns and cities who emerged as absentee landlords.

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1. A study of the British records lead to the inference that the majority of the _taluqadars_ in Awadh were originally _ijarahdars_.

The practice of _ijarah_ in regard to _jagir_ lands, as noted above, was closely related with the crisis in the _jagirdari_ system. The political and administrative conditions were such that no action against the _jagirdars_ could be taken by the Revenue Ministry. But in _khalsa_ lands the practice was adopted as a measure of expediency and as it served the vested interests of the bankers and those who patronised them for their personal ends. Attempts at abolishing the practice met with stiff opposition from the vested interests headed by the court favourites. The weak emperors succummed to their pressure and the attempts at reform were abandoned.

That the village _zamindars_ existed in almost all the _mahal_ of the Mughal Empire has been discussed elsewhere. The land under the _zamindars_, whether in the _khalsa_ or in the _jagir_ lands, were subject to the detailed assessment in accordance with the rules and regulations of the Revenue Ministry. They acted as intermediaries for the collection and payment of land revenue. These _zamindars_ were quite distinct from the vassal chiefs, referred to in the Mughal chronicles as _zamindars_, who paid a fixed tribute or were assigned their _zamindaris_ in lieu of their salary against their _mansabs_. Such a village _zamindar_ enjoyed proprietary rights in land which were transferrable. The village _zamindar_ continued to occupy the same position in the agricultural community of a village in the 17th and 18th century. However, the practice of _nasaq_ in the form of group assessment strengthened his position as an intermediary. He did not only engage for the collection and payment of land revenue but the distribution of _jama_ over the individual holdings of the peasants

was also left in his hands, a practice which he could utilise in his own interest at the cost of the peasants. But the wide-spread practice of revenue-farming robbed him of much of the advantages that would have accrued on account of the nasaq arrangement. The practice of revenue-farming, it appears, adversely affected the interests of the village zamindars and there are indications that the competition between the ijarahdars and the zamindars for engaging for land revenue which exceeded the normal jama, led to the ruination of many old families of the hereditary zamindars. A large number of sale-deeds of zamindari rights preserved in the U.P.States Records Office, Allahabad, indicate that in the first half of the 18th century, zamindari rights, were sold on a considerably large scale which seem to confirm the inference that practice of ijarah proved to be the ruin of the small zamindars. The case was, however, different with the big and powerful zamindars. The local officers, with the inadequate means for maintaining efficient and strong local police and soldiers employed in connection with the collection of land revenue, were not in a position even to collect the normal jama, in case a powerful zamindar chose to defy the local officer. Under the given political and administrative conditions no help from the centre could be expected and the local officer was left to meet the situation with the resources at his immediate command. Under such circumstances, prudence tended to counsel the local officer to respect rather than coerce a powerful zamindar. Neither an ijarahdar from city nor a neighbouring zamindar could dare to obtain his zamindari in revenue farming. On the other hand, a powerful zamindar could obtain the

villages owned by small zamindars in farm and if possible contrive to purchase these villages for amounts much less than their actual value.

The institution of madad maash land had important bearing on the political, economic and social life of rural Hindustan. The practice of granting rent-free lands to the Muslim, especially the Shaikh and Sayyids, was actuated by the motives of creating pockets of local influence which could be always depended upon for loyal service to the State. The Muslim grantees of revenue free lands settled down in the remote villages and on account of their tact and intelligence won a place of respect among the alien Hindu population. On the one hand, it appears, they exercised their influence with the local officers to protect the local Hindus against the unjust exactions or other forms of oppression, on the other hand they were required to furnish the government officers with reliable information about the political and administrative condition of the locality. Economically, it created a class, spread all over the the country, which like the zamindars depended for its livelihood on the surplus produce from the land. Generally, the madad maash holders enjoyed economic immunity in so far that their lands were free from all taxes. But the grants were generally small and, therefore, they were, in most cases, not much better off than the village zamindars. They were not called zamindars but for all practical purposes they enjoyed the same rights and interests in land as the zamindars. There are indications that in the first half of the 18th century holders of madad maash land enjoyed the right to sell or transfer land as gift in the same way as the zamindars did. The

rights in *madad maash* land gradually tended to be hereditary, subject to formal renewal and confirmation. In the first half of the 18th century, however, it appears that certain types of *madad maash* lands had acquired more or less the same character as the *zamindari* land and were subject to revenue assessment. Thus the institution ultimately more or less merged into the institution of *zamindari* and served to widen the class of intermediaries. The present writer does not want to suggest that the Muslim *zamindars* of the 18th century were invariably the grant holders or their descendants. Muslims, of course, acquired *zamindari* rights by purchase and sometimes converted *ijarah* rights into *zamindari*. But it is important to note that by the middle of the 18th century the *madad maash* grants were quite freely treated in transactions as *zamindari* lands and hardly any distinction was made between the *zamindar* and one who held the *madad maash* grant.

Socially, the institution became responsible for fostering and developing belief in and practice of religious toleration among the rural population. The Muslim settled down in the interior and came into direct contact with the Hindu rural population. These Muslims succeeded in retaining the essentials of their religious beliefs and customs. Nevertheless they were considerably influence by the local customs and began to participate in the local festivals, not as a matter of belief, but merely as an occasion which afforded them an opportunity to rejoice with those who, although professed a different religion, were nontheless their life-long companions to face the common problems of rural life. Similarly, the simple minded Hindus

in the villages came to know and understand the Muslim culture and religion as practiced and observed by the Muslims in their daily life. Gradually, the realisation came to Hindus that the Muslims were not altogether unwholly as they were made to believe from the accounts handed down to them from their forefathers, who identified a Muslim with a Turk and a _malich_, a tyrant and a creatûre of extremely unwholly and unclean habits. Consequently, the rural Hindus and Muslims developed alike a deep rooted sense of religious toleration towards each other which was born of a realisation of common needs and problems of the limited but compact life of an Indian village. The legacy of religious toleration in rural India is still a cherished asset left by the institution of _madad maash_ grants.

We have noted that _nasaq_ in the form of group assessment had become the general practice in assessing the revenue farming in the reign of Aurangzeb and continued to be so in the first half of the 18th century.The replacement of _zabt_ by _nasaq_ has been described as an administrative revolution in the methods of assessment.Whether the change over amounted to an administrative revolution or not the fact remains that it considerably affected the relative position of the peasants and the intermediaries. The _nasaq_ arrangement in the form of group assessment implied that the unit of assessment was not the holdings of the individual peasants but the village or the pargana. The distribution of the assessed _jama_ in such an arrangement was left in the hands of the intermediaries who also engaged for the collection and payment of land revenue. Such an arrangement provided the necessary power and opportunity to the _zamindars_ and farmers to raise the revenue demand against the individual peasants. The peasant had consequently

to pay more than the amount which could be normally assessed on his holdings. In other words the arrangement eliminated the direct relationship between the State and the peasants and armed the intermediaries with the necessary power to exploit the peasantry more intensively.

The change over from zabt to nasaq as the most important method of assessment indicated a weakening of the administration machinery at various levels. The zabt arrangement entailed large expenditure in measurement operations and also required a large and efficient staff. In case men of integrity were not available the zabt arrangement admitted of much corruption, caused much inconvenience to all the parties concerned and was generally disliked. Whereas the nasaq arrangement, based as it was on the previous records, was simpler and entailed no extra expenditure. With the weakening of the administration, when the proper vigilance could not be exercised, nasaq naturally suggested itself as the most convenient of all the methods of assessment and was consequently adopted as the general practice, although it benefitted the intermediaries at the cost of the State and the peasants. The intermediaries in their own interests as a class favoured nasaq as the best of all the methods of assessment and the officials partly because of their unwillingness to take up the arduous measurement operations and partly under the influence of the intermediaries gradually shifted over to nasaq.

Our investigations have revealed that in the first half of the 18th century the position of the peasant was considerably weakened. The practice of nasaq in the form of group assessment became quite

wide-spread and distribution of assessed land revenue over the holdings of the individual peasants was largely left in the hands of intermediaries. The peasants thus lost the direct relationship with the government and the arrangement gave ample opportunity to the intermediaries to exploit the peasantry. The effects of *ijarahdari* system aggravated the situation still further. It created artificial conditions for competition to engage for a land revenue which exceeded the normal *jama*, which ultimately meant an increase in the burden on the peasantry.

The examination of the available evidence does not indicate any increase in the magnitude of land revenue demand sanctioned by the Revenue Ministry. It varied between 1/4th to 1/2 of the produce, as it had been in the 17th century. As to the collections made under the head of *abwab* or taxes over and above the land revenue no specific evidence is available. But the administrative practices of the period such as the *nasaq* in the form of group assessment and the revenue-farming coupled with the weakening of the administrative machinery at various levels tended to create the necessary condition for collection of such taxes. No idea, however, can be formed of their magnitude.

Appendix A

Nasaq

Nasaq, as defined in the Farhang-i-Kardani, was essentially a method of assessment based on previous records showing the revenue demand for the last ten or twelve years. It can also be inferred that it did not involve measurement. The relevant evidence elsewhere indicates that it could be made with the individual peasant, as under Akbar, or with the headman or zamindar as under Shahjahan, Aurangzeb and under later Mughals. In case the distribution of the assessed land revenue was left in the hands of headman the arrangement could be regarded what Moreland was described as group assessment.

Sri Ram Sharma has defined nasaq as a method of assessment in which land revenue was determined on the average of the land revenue for the last ten or twelve years, keeping in view any improvement that might have been made in land.[1] Moreland has interpreted it as group assessment viz., assessment of a lump sum on the village or occasionally a pargana by agreement with headman, as representing the peasants, the distribution being left in the headman's hand.[2] These definitions, although correct, not comprehensive. Dr.Saran has, however, rejected these interpretations on the ground that their inferences are based on evidence relating to the post-Akbar period. He identifies nasaq with kankut and maintains that nasaq in the Ain has been used in the sense of appraisement and as the essence of both kankut and nasaq was an appraisal or an estimate, therefore, the two can be identified with each other.[3] However, an examination of the relevant evidence does not seem to lend any support to the proposition

1. Mughal Government and Administration, p.75
2. The Agrarian System of Moslem India, f.236
3. Provincial Government of the Mughals, pp.304-307; 453-457.

put forth by Dr.Saran.

The description of kankut in the Ain[1] as well as in the documents of Aurangzeb's reign clearly indicates that like zabt, kankut did not involve the measurement of land under cultivation. The khasra-i-kankut, reproduced in the Khulasat-us-Siyaq shows that in kankut arrangement the land under cultivation was measured. The difference between zabt and kankut, however, lay in the fact that in zabt cash rates were applied, whereas in kankut estimated grain rates, as agreed between the parties or calculated after a physical verification of the produce from a few biswas, were applied.[2] Secondly in the Farhang-i-Kardani nasaq has been described as a method of assessment distinct from kankut.[3] As such there is hardly any justification for identifying nasaq with kankut.

Dr.Saran's arguments for rejecting the definition put forth by Sri Ram Sharma and Moreland may be summed up as follows:

1. The definition given by Sri Ram Sharma is based on evidence relating to post-Akbar period and as such does not hold good for the reign of Akbar.
2. Moreland's interpretation of nasaq as group assessment is not acceptable because the evidence in the Ain indicates direct relationship between the peasants and the State. Moreover his interpretation is based on an evidence relating to the reign of Aurangzeb.

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1. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p.199
2. Khulasat-us-Siyaq, f.21 a.
3. Farhang-i-Kardani, f.32 b.

The arguments advanced by Dr. Saran make it necessary to examine the relevent evidence in the Ain and in the Akbar Nama and correlate it with the later evidence.

For the reign of Akbar the evidence is available in a chapter of the Ain, entitled Ain-i-Amal Guzar and in the short notes attached to the statistical account of the twelve provinces. In the Ain-i-Amal-Guzar, nasaq is described as an alternative method of assessment for paimaish (zabt entailing measurement). In the same Ain, the Amal-Guzar is enjoined not to make nasaq with the headman of the village[1] as this led to inefficiency and strengthened the hands of the oppressors. On the other hand he was required to approach individual cultivators and enter mutual agreement with them on behalf of the government.[2]

The evidence under examination establishes the following points:-

1. Nasaq was an alternative to paimaish and did not entail measurement.
2. Nasaq could be made either with the headman or with individual cultivators, but Akbar discouraged the former practice as it led to inefficiency and oppression.

In the short notes attached to the statistical account of the twelve provinces, we are told that nasaq obtained in Bengal

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1. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p.199. The sentence in the Ain reads: نسق بکلانتران ده نکند

Dr. Saran translates the sentence as (the Amal Gulzar) should not entrust the appraisement with the headman of the village and builds up his arguments to show that nasaq has been used in the sense of appraisement. In fact, the sentence under reference does not throw any light on the nature of nasaq. It only suggests that the nasaq arrangement (whatever it was) could be made with the peasants as well as with the headman. Akbar's preference, however, was for making settlement with the individual peasant.

2. Ain-i-Akbari, I, p.199

and in making assessment measurement was not the practice. Ghalla-bakhshi did not obtain and payment was made in cash.[1] Berar, we are told, had been nasaqi for a long time[2]. In Kashmir, we are told in the Ain, all land was nasaqi ghalla-bakhshi and measurement of land and payment in cash did not obtain.[3] Obviously ghalla-bakhshi in this passage refers to the mode of payment and not to the method of assessment. According to one reading all the land in Kashmir was nisfi ghalla-bakhshi obtained and the share of the State was fixed at 1/2. On the basis of the first reading the relevant fact to note is that in nasaq payment in kind was admissible.

In Gujrat, the Ain tells us, mostly nasaq obtained and paimaish (measurement) was little practiced.[4] This statement requires some explanation. So far we have seen that nasaq obviated the necessity of measurement, and that it was rather an alternative for measurement. But in the same note attached to the statistical account of Gujrat we are told that measured land excluding Sorath, which was naqdi, amounted to 1,69,36,377 bighas, 7 biswas[5]. Apparently there seems to be some contradiction between the two statements. However, the contradiction can be easily explained away. As I read the text, the facts of revenue assessment, as recorded in the Ain, suggest that measurement of land in Gujrat was undertaken under the supervision of Todar Mal in the year 984 A.H./1576-77 A.D. Those figures were recorded and maintained in the revenue papers and subsequently were utilized

1. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p.50
2. Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 110
3. Ibid, p.175
4. Ibid, p.120
5. Ibid, p.120

by Abul Fazl. The inference is fully supported by an evidence contained in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi,[1] which gives the area of measured land, culturable and unculturable, noted during the general settlement made by Todar Mal. As such the explanation can be found in the fact that nasaq did not totally rule out the measurement of land. In fact it was based on the figures for the area of measured land and assessed jama, for the last few years. What nasaq obviated was the necessity of measurement at the time of periodical assessment or the revision of assessment. Whereas in zabt land revenue was assessed on the measured area of land under cultivation, held by individual cultivators, in nasaq the periodical assessment did not require any such measurement of land under cultivation. It was enough to examine the previous records of holdings entered against a village or a pargana for determining the land revenue. When Abul Fazal says that in Gujrat, measurement was little practiced it means that generally periodical assessment was made on the basis of previous records and only in such areas where the peasants requested for measurement of their holdings their requests were complied with.

The nasaq may be defined as a method of assessment based on the previous records showing jama and measured area of land entered against individual cultivators, against the village or against the parganah. This definition of nasaq is fully supported by the evidence contained in the Farhang-i-Kardani and the Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahjahani. Dr. Saran has rejected the definition of nasaq given in these documents on the ground that these documents were written long after the com-

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1. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, I, p.25.

pilation of the Ain and, therefore, the definition does nothold good for the nature of nasaq that obtained in the reign of Akbar. But I have shown that the meagre evidence available for the reign of Akbar indicates that the nature of the nasaq under Akbar was substantially the same as is given in the documents written in the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb.

In the Akbar Nama we are told that in the 11th year Shihab-ud-Din Khan set aside zabt-i-har-salah (annual measurement) in the khalsa lands and replaced it with nasaq as the former entailed large amount of expenditure and was liable to misappropriation by dishonest men.[1] The evidence shows that nasaq was an alternative to measurement. It only confirms the nature of nasaq as stated in the Ain.

But we can examine the definition of nasaq as given in the Farhang-i-Kardani, a document written in the reign of Aurangzeb. Defining nasaq, the author of the Farhang-i-Kardani, says, "First, the nasaq: the Ain prepares the Jama bandi or rent-roll, either after examining the mauazanah (relative figures) of the last ten years and of the preceding year (سال گذشته و پیوسته) or by averaging the jama of the last ten or twelve years."[2]

A careful analysis of the definition shows that nasaq was a method of assessment in which the jama was determined on the basis of the annual figures of jama for the last ten or twelve years. The evidence in the Ain, as I have shown, indicates the same. The important difference is that the Ain does not state the period for which

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1. Akbar Nama, II, p.333

2. Farhang-i-Kardani, f.32 a.

the records were consulted. It also refers to an important revenue document known as muwaznah or muwaznah-dah-salah - a document of considerable importance for a more detailed examination of the nature of nasaq. The document is referred to in many revenue documents and even in Persian chronicles of the Mughal period. But its nature and content have not been described in any of the documents or chronicles except the Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri[1] and the Diwan Pasand[2]. The muwazanahs, reproduced in our authorities, was a brief statement showing the total number of villages in the parganah together with the number of villages known as asl (original) dakhli (addition) and wiran (deserted). It also contained the annual jama for the last ten or twelve years, noting the annual increase in each year. It was on the basis of these data for the last ten years that a new jama was prepared and this method of assessing the jama was known as nasaq.

A critical examination of the details contained in the muwaznah indicates that the documents furnished the jama figures for the entire parganah, and did not take note of individual holdings. As such it can be reasonably assumed that the information contained in the muwazanah was not meant for determining land revenue on individual holdings. The indications are that the parganah was assessed in lump sum and then the jama was distributed over villages and individual holdings. Sri Ram Sharma while defining nasaq on the basis of evidence contained in Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahjahani and Farhang-i-Kardani ignores the important fact that the system, as defined in the documents, was essentially a group of assessment in the sense that originally the

1. Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri, f.41 a.
2. Diwan Pasand, f.77

assessment was made on the entire parganah and not on individual holdings and that it also admitted the possibility of making an agreement with a headman who could be authorised to distribute the _jama_ over the indi idual holdings. At the same time the evidence does not indicate that it was necessary to leave the distribution of _jama_ over the individual holdings in the hands of the headman. In the absence of any definite inju ctions to the contrary it may be assumed that the revenue officers themselves could, if t ey chose, distribute the _jama_ ov r the individual holdings. Moreland fails to take note of this administrative expediency and defines _nasaq_ as group assessment in the sense that the agreement was invariably made with the headman (or headmen) who were authorised to distribute the _jama_ over the individual holdings. The evidence under examination did not vest the power of distributing _jama_ either in the hands of the revenue officers or in the hands of the headman. It could be vested in either of the two as administrative expediency demanded, and the question was left to the discretionary power of the assessment officer.

It appears that Akbar discouraged _nasaq_ arrangement with headman and laid down definite regulations to abstain from the practice. However, by the time of Aurangzeb, it appears, _nasaq_ in the form of group assessment became the general practice. and revenue settlement was generally made with the _zamindar_ or with the headman.

Appendix B

Province	Source	Date	Jama figures in dams.
Bengal	Ain-i-Akbari	1595-96 A.D.	59,84,59,399
	Badshah Namah	1646-47 A.D.	50,00,00,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahinshahi	1638-50 A.D.	52,46,36,104
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri	1658-59 A.D.	45,78,53,000
	Zawabit-i-Alamgiri	31-35 regnal year of Aurang zeb.	52,46,36,240
	Khulasat-us-Siyaq	41 regnal year of Aurangzeb	17,28,41,000
	Haqiqat-i-Dami	Bahadurshah's reign	17,28,41,000
	Dar Ilm-i-Navisindigi	1711 A.D.	72,71,91,000
	Malumat-ul-Afaq	1713 A.D.	52,37,39,110
	Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani	Mohd Shah's reign	46,29,10,515
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Ghulam Ahmad	1748	49,29,10,515
Orrissa	Ain-i-Akbari	1595-96 A.D.	.....
	Badshah Nama	1646-47 A.D.	20,00,00,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahin-Shahi	1638-50 A.D.	18,41,00,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri	1658-59 A.D.	12,55,80,000
	Zawabit-i-Alamgiri	31-35 regnal year of Aurang-zeb.	
	Khulasat-us-Siyaq	41 regnal year of Aurang zeb.	17,28,41,000

Province	Source	Date	Jama figures in dams
	Haqitat-i-Dami	Bahadur Shah's reign	17,28,41,000
	Dar-Ilm-i-Navisindigi	1711 A.D.	19,20,00,000
	Malumat-ul-Afaq	1713 A.D.	19,71,00,000
	Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani	Mohd Shah's reign	18,97,70,590
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Ghulam Ahmad	1748 A.D.	17,18,41,000
Bihar	Ain-i-Akbari	1595-96 A.D.	22,19,19,404½
	Iqbal Nama	1605 A.D.	26,27,74,167
	Badshah Nama	1946-47 A.D.	40,00,00,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahinshahi	1738-58 A.D.	39,43,44,532
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri	31-35 regnal yr.of Aurang-zeb.	54,53,00,935
	Zawabit-i-Alamgiri	31-35 regnal yr.of Aurang-zeb.	41Ø,71,81,000
	Khulasat-us-Siyaq	41 regnal yr. of Aurangzeb	39,43,44,532
	Haqiqat-i-Dami	Bahadur Shah's reign	39,43,44,532
	Dar-Ilm-i-Navisindigi	1711 A.D.	37,32,00,000
	Malumat-ul-Afaq	1713 A.D.	72,17,97,019
	Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani	Mohd Shahs reign	37,17,30,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Ghulam	1748 A.D.	39,43,44,532
Awadh	Ain-i-Akbari	1595-96 A.D.	20,19,58,172
	Iqbal Nama	1605 A.D.	22,98,65,014
	Badshah Namah	1646-47 A.D.	30,00,00,000

Province	Source	Date	Jama figures in dams
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahin-Shahi	1638-59 A.D.	27,95,79,619
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alam-giri	1658-59 A.D.	30,39,82,859
	Zawabit-i-Alamgiri	31-35 regnal year of Aurang-zeb	32,13,17,119
	Khulasat-us-Siyaq	41 regnal yr. of Aurangzeb	47,95,79,619
	Haqiqat-i-Dami	Bahadur Shah's reign	27,95,79,619
	Dar-Ilm-i-Navisindigi	1711 A.D.	25,82,00,000
	Malumat-ul-Afaq	1713 A.D.	32,00,72,193
	Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani	Mohd Shah's reign	---
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Ghulam Ahmad	1748 A.D.	27,95,79,619
Allaha-bad.	Aini-i-Akbari	1595-96 A.D.	21,24,27,819
	Iqbal Nama	1605 A.D.	30,43,55,746
	Badshah Nama	1646-47 A.D.	40,00,00,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahinshahi	1638-50 A.D.	42,23,46,627
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri	1658-59 A.D.	52,78,81,196
	Zawabit-i-Alamgiri	31-35 regnal yr.of Aurang-zeb.	6,83,16,810
	Khulasat-us-Siyaq	41 regnal yr. of Aurangzeb	42,23,36,622
	Haqiqat-i-Dami	Bahadur Shah's reign	42,23,46,628
	Dar Ilm-i-Navisindigi	1711 A.D.	37,88,00,000
	Malumat-ul-Afaq	1713 A.D.	43,66,88,072
	Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani	Mohd Shahs reign	30,75,20,000

Province	Source	Date	Jama figures in dams
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Ghulam Ahmad	1748 A.D.	42,23,46,627
Agra	Ain-i-Akbari	1695-96 A.D.	54,62,50,304
	Badshah Nama	1646-47 A.D.	90,00,00,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahinshahi	1638-50 A.D.	96,12,67,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri	1658-59 A.D.	1,36,46,02,117
	Zawabit-i-Alamgiri	31-35 regnal yr.of Aurangzeb.	1,14,17,00,157
	Khulasat-us-Siyaq	41 regnal yr.of Aurangzeb	---
	Haqiqat-i-Dami	Bahadur Shahs reign	96,12,57,015
	Dar-Ilm-i-Navisindigi	1711 A.D.	1,00,90,00,000
	Malumat-ul-Afaq	1713 A.D.	1,05,17,09,283
	Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani	Mohd Shahs reign	97,56,93,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Ghulam Ahmad	1748 A.D.	96,12,66,805
Delhi	Ain-i-Akbari	1695-96 A.D.	60,16,15,555
	Iqbal Nama	1605 A.D.	62,62,33,956
	Badshah Nama	1846-47 A.D.	100,00,00,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahinshahi	1638-50 A.D.	122,29,50,137
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri	1658-59 A.D.	155,88,39,107
	Zawabit-i-Alamgiri	31-35 regnal yr. of Aurangzeb	122,29,50,177

Province	Source	Date	Jama figures in dams
	Khulasat-us-Siyaq	41 regnal yr. of Aurangzeb	1,22,19,50, 137
	Haqiqat-i-Dami	Bahadur Shahs reign	1,22,19,50, 137
	Dar-Ilm-i-Navisindigi	1711 A.D.	78,20,00,00, 000
	Malumat-ul-Afaq	1713 A.D.	1,16,83,98, 263
	Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani	Mohd Shahs reign	94,93,45, 000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Ghulam Ahmad	1748 A.D.	1,22,29,50,137
Lahore	Ain-i-Akbari	1695-96 A.D.	55,94,58,423
	Iqbal Namah	1605 A.D.	64,67,30,311
	Badshah Nama	1646-47 A.D.	90,00,00,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahinshahi	1638-50 A.D.	89,30,39,339
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri	1658-59 A.D.	1,08,97,59,776 89 ,89,32,170
	Zawabit-i-Alamgiri	31-35 regnal yr of Aurangzeb	89 ,89,32,170
	Khulasat-us-Siyaq	41 regnal yr. of Aurangzeb	89,30,39,039
	Haqiqat-i-Dami	Bahadur Shah's reign	99,30,37,519
	Dar-Ilm-i-Navisin-digi	1711 A.D.	93,48,00,000
	Malumat-ul-Afaq	1713 A.D.	90,70,16,125
	Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani	Mohd Shah's reign	95,65,70,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Ghulam Ahmad	1748 A.D.	96,30,39,319

Province	Source	Date	Jama figures in dams
Multan	Ain-i-Akbari	1595-96 A.D.	15,14,03,619
	Iqbal Nama	1605 A.D.	25,39,64,173
	Badshah Nama	1646-47 A.D.	28,00,00,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahinshai	1638-50 A.D.	21,98,02,368
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri	1658-59 A.D.	33,84,21,178
	Zawabit-i-Alamgiri	31-35 regnal yr. of Aurangzeb	21,43,49,896
	Khulasat-us-Siyaq	41 regnal yr. of Aurangzeb	21,77,02,418
	Haqiqat-i-Dami	Bahadur Shah's Reign	21,98,02,718
	Dar-ilm-i-Navisindgi	1711 A.D.	22,55,00,000
	Malumat-ul-Afaq	1713 A.D.	24,53,38,575
	Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani	Mohd Shahs reign	23,95,60,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Ghulam Ahmad	1748 A.D.	21,98,02,418
Thathah	Ain-i-Akbari	1595-96 A.D.	....
	Badshah Nama	1846-47 A.D.	8,00,00,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahinshahi	1638-50	6,01, 388
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri	1658-59 A.D.	8,92,30,000
	Zawabit-i-Alamgiri	1658- 31-35 regnal yr.of Aurang-zeb.	6,82,16,810
	Khulasat-us-Siyaq	41 regnal yr. of Aurangzeb	.....
	Haqiqat-i-Dami	Bahadur Shah's reign	6,30,81,587

Province	Source	Date	Jama figures in dams
	Dar-Ilm-i-Navisindigi	1711 A.D.	9,28,00,000
	Malumat-ul-Afaq	1713 A.D.	9,49,86,900
	Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani	Mohd Shahs reign	4,51,95,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Ghulam Ahmad	1748 A.D.	6,30,81,388
Kashmir	Ain-i-Akbari	1595-96 A.D.	7,46,70,411 7,29,21,976
	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri		7,46,70,411
	Badshah Nama	1646-47 A.D.	15,00,00,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahinshahi	1638-50 A.D.	25,79,11,306
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri	1658-59 A.D.	11,43,90,000
	Zawabit-i-Alamgiri	31-35 regnal yr. of Aurangzeb	22,49,11,687
	Khulasat-us-Siyaq	41 regnal yr.of Aurangzeb	27,79,10,397
	Haqiqat-i-Dami	Bahadur Shahs reign	27,29,21,397
	Dar-Ilm-i-Navisindigi	1711 A.D.	14,02,00,000
	Malumat-ul-Afaq	1713 A.D.	21,30,22,74,826
	Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani	Mohd Shahs reign	12,62,85,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Ghulam Ahmad	1748 A.D.	27,79,21,397
Kabul	Ain-i-Akbari	1595-96 A.D.	7,46,70,411
	Badshah Nama	1846-47 A.D.	16,00,00,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahinshahi	1638-50 A.D.	20,11,81,642
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri	1658-59 A.D.	19,70,78,000
	Zawabit-i-Alamgiri	31-35 regnal yr.of Aurangzeb.	16,10,49,354

Province	Source	Date	Jama figures in dam
	Khulasat-us-Siyaq	41 regnal yr.of Aurangzeb	20,20,81,642
	Haqiqat-i-Dami	Bahadur Shah's reign	11,21,81,642
	Dar-Ilm-i-Navisin-digi	1711 A.D.	13,09,00,000
	Malumat-ul-Afaq	1713 A.D.	15,76,25,380
	Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani	Mohd Shahs reign	19,24,18,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Ghulam Ahmad	1748 A.D.	20,21,81,642
Ajmer	Ain-i-Akbari	1595-96 A.D.	28,84,01,557
	Iqbal Nama	1605 A.D.	30,99,17,724
	Badshah Nama	1646-47 A.D.	55,00,00,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahinshahi	1638-50 A.D.	60,29,80,270
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri	1658-59 A.D.	64,87,61,658
	Zawabit-i-Alamgiri	31-35 regnal yr.of Aurangzeb	85,26,45,702
	Khulasat-us-Siyaq	41 regnal yr.of Aurangzeb	60,29,80,270
	Haqiqat-i-Dami	Bahadur Shahs reign	1,29,80,270
	Dar-Ilm-i-Navisindigi	1711 A.D.	87,00,00,000
	Malumat-ul-Afaq	1713 A.D.	63,68,94,800
	Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani	Mohd Shahs reign	----
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Ghulam Ahmad.	1748 A.D.	60,29,80,270
Malwa	Ain-i-Akbari	1595-96 A.D.	24,06,95,052
	Iqbal Nama	1605 A.D.	25,73,78,201
	Badshah Nama	1646-47 A.D.	46,00,00,000

	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahinshahi	1638-50 A.D.	40,83,46,925
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri	1658-59 A.D.	39,85,00,000
	Zawabit-i-Alamgiri	31-35 regnal yr.of Aurang-zeb	40,39,80,658
	Khulasat-us-Siyaq	41 regnal yr. of Aurangzeb	40,83,46,718
	Haqiqat-i-Dami	Bahadur Shahs reign	40,83,46,713
	Dar-Ilm-i-Navisindigi	1711 A.D.	39,85,00,000
	Malumat-ul-Afaq	1713 A.D.	42,54,86,670
	Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani	Mohd Shahs reign	33,90,10,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Ghulam Ahmad	1748 A.D.	40,83,46,818
Gujrat	Ain-i-Akbari	1595-96 A.D.	43,68,22,301
	Iqbal Nama	1605 A.D.	46,91,59,424
	Badshah Nama	1646-47 A.D.	53,00,00,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahinshahi	1638-50 A.D.	53,85,25,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri	1658-59 A.D.	86,92,88,069
	Zawabit-i-Alamgiri	31-35 regnal yr. of Aurangzeb	45,47,42,135
	Khulasat-us-Siyaq	41 regnal yr.of Aurangzeb	53,65,25,000
	Haqiqat-i-Dami	Bahadur Shahs reign	53,65,26,000
	Dar-Ilm-i-Navisindigi	1711 A.D.	53,00,00,000
	Malumat-ul-Afaq	1713 A.D.	44,8383,096
	Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani	Mohd Shah's reign	46,51,50,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Ghulam Ahmad	1748 A.D.	53,65,25,00

Province	Source	Date	Jama figures in dams
Berar	Ain-i-Akbari	1595-96 A.D.	64,00,00,000
	Badshah Nama	1646-47 A.D.	55,00,00,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahinshahi	1638-50 A.D.	——
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri	1658-59 A.D.	92,65,45,000
	Zawabit-i-Alamgiri	31-35 regnal year of Aurangzeb	92,65,45,000
	Khulasat-us-Siyaq	41 regnal year of Aurangzeb	92,65,45,000
	Haqiqat-i-Dami	Bahadur Shah's reign	92,65,45,000
	Dar-Ilm-i-Navisindigi	1711 A.D.	63,50,00,000
	Malumat-ul-Afaq	Mohd Shah's reign	95,00,00,000
	Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani	Mohd Shah's reign	95,00,00,000
	Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Ghulam Ahmad	1748 A.D.	92,65,45,000

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Appendix C

WAJUHAT, SAIR AKHRAJAT, ABWAB

The chronicles and documents of the Mughal period contain references to taxes classified under the heads wajuhat, sair akhrajat, and abwab. These taxes appear to be of rural incidence and signified the taxes over and above the land revenue or mal. Most of them were repeatedly remitted by the Mughal emperors but some of them were levied on the agricultural community. The taxes levied on the agricultural community over and above the land revenue have nowhere been specified nor any idea of their magnitude can be formed. Neither there is enough evidence to clearly establish whether the orders about the remission of such taxes were implemented or ignored. However, the available evidence on the subject can be briefly summarised.

We learn from the Ain that certain taxes were collected over and above the fixed land revenue or mal by the officers of the land revenue administration which were classified under the head wajuhat Most of them were remitted by Akbar but a few of them continued to be collected.[1] The taxes which continued to be collected are not specified either in the Ain or in the Akbar Nama. The list of remitted taxes in the Ain, however, does not include sad-doi, qanungoi, muqaddami jaribanah, zabitanah and zabt-i-har-salah,[2] which find a place in a number of farmans remitting these taxes in favour of the madad maash[3] grantees[3]. We can, therefore, suggest that these taxes classi-

1. Ain-i-Akbari, I, pp.205; 209
2. Ibid, I, pp.209,210
3. Selected Documents Of Shahjahan's Reign, p.90; Allahabad Documents No.60; Akbar's Farman dated 983 A.H./1575-76 A.D., transcript available in the Research Library, Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh.

fied under the head wajuhat continued to be collected. In fact, we have some evidence to show that taxes such as sad-doi and qanungoi were recognised as legal taxes and continued to be collected.[1]

A few farmans granting madad maash lands contain the list of a number of taxes classified under the head of jihat(or wajuhat) and sair akhrajat or akhrajat.[2] These taxes are described as remitted in favour of grantees and appear to be taxes of rural incidence collected from agricultural community. A comparison of these taxes with those described in the Ain as remitted under the head wajuhat reveals that the following taxes are common to both the lists:

1. qunlighah 2. pesh kash 3. muhasillanah (tahsildari in the Ain) 4. daroghanah 5. sar darkhti (hasil-i-baghat and hasil-i-darkht in the Ain) 6. muhtarifah (aqsam-i-peshah and peshahwari in the Ain) 7. salami.

A critical examination of the evidence described above suggest that either wajuhat and sair akhrajat were interchangeable terms or that some of the taxes specified in the madad maash farmans refer to wajuhat and other to sair akhrajat or akhrajat.

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1. Ain-i-Akbari I, p.209
2. These taxes as given in the documents were:

1. qunlighah (process fee) 2. peshkash (present), 3. jaribanah (rate imposed for defraying the charges of measurement). 4. zabitanah (fee paid to the measurers and assessors) 5. Muhasilanah(fee of the tax gatherer) 6. muhranah (fee for sealing documents) 7. daroghanah(superintendence charges) 8. begar (employing anyone without remuneration), 9. shikar (hunting fee) 10. dah-nimi(tax of five percent)11. Muqaddami (headman's fee) 12. sad-doi(tax of two percent ; perhaps refers to said-doi of Patwari). 13. qanungoi (fee of officer in charge of land tenures) 14. zabt-i-har-salah (cost of annual settlement) 15. salami(a fee paid to an officer on the occasion of paying a visit to him; a fee or fine levied annually on the holders of rent free tenures as a quit rent. (See Selected Documents of Shahjahan's Reign p.90; Allahabad Documents No.60; Akbar's Farman dated 983 A.H./1175-76 A.D. transcript available in the Research Library, Department of History Muslim University, Aligarh; The Parsees At the Court of Akbar, pp.93,119).

Some other taxes of rural incidence collected from the agricultural community are mentioned in a number of documents contained in the Nigar Nama-i-Munshi.[1] They are given as bhaint,[2] bala dasti,[3] tahsildari[4] kharch-i-sadir-o-warid[5] and mulbah[6]. They have been classified under the head abwab[7] and described as remitted in favour of the agricultural community. Among these, tahsildari, as we have noted above, was included among the wajuhat and sair akhrajat. There is no definite evidence to indicate that the abwab referred to the same taxes as the sair akhrajat However, bhaint (or salami) and tahsildari are common in the lists classified under the heads abwab and wajuhat and sair akhrajat. Moreover the taxes classified as sair akhrajat, wajuhat and abwab appear to be of rural evidence. For these reasons we can suggest that most probably wajuhat, sair akhrajat and abwab were interchangeable terms.

Thus it appears that most of the taxes classified under the heads of wajuht, ssair akhrajat, and abwab were remitted again and again by the Mughal emperors. However, a few of the wajuhat, which are not specified, continued to be collected under a single head mal-o-jihat. We have no definite evidence to show that the orders remitting these taxes were enforced or collection of these taxes continued in contravention of the imperial orders. It appears that the remitted taxes were

1. Nigar Nama-i-Munshi, pp.62,148, 154
2. Perhaps the same as salami
3. A fine; an unauthorised or oppressive exactions
4. Same as muhasillahnah or fee of the tax gatherer
5. Taxes collected for meeting the expenses in connection with the visits of the officers and their subordinates to a village.
6. Village expenses usually liquidated in the same manner as the public assessment.
7. Plural of bab, a door, a section, a title, heads or subjects of taxation or the taxes imposed under the Mughals in addition to the regular assement on the land.

regarded illegal and the government discouraged the collections of these taxes. The inference is based on evidence contained in the Farhang-i-Kardani and the Khulasat-us-Siyaq. These administrative manuals reproduce the tumar-i-jamabandi or the rent roll and the assessed land revenue is shown under two heads, namely mal-o-jihat and sair-ul-jihat or sair jihat.[1] Sair akhrajat or abwab are not shown as a head of taxation. The sair jihat shown in the assessment account cannot be identified with the taxes of rural incidence such as sair akhrajat or abwab because the author of the Khulasat-us-Siyaq before reproducing the rent roll explains the term sair jihat as taxes levied on commodities bought or sold in the markets.[2] The evidence under examination leaves us hardly in any doubt that the Mughal State did not recognise the collection of the remitted taxes and that they were not shown in the papers maintained by the government officers. Whether the jagirdars and zamindars conformed to the imperial orders is a matter of conjecture. Unless more definite evidence is forthcoming the matter may be left upon.

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1. Farhang-i-Kardani, f.34 b; Khulasat-us-Siyaq, f.15 ab.
2. Khulasat-us-Siyaq, f. 15 Ab.

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نمبر ۲۴

Allahabad Documents No.24.

هوالاکبر

فرمان همایون شرف نفاذ یافت که چون از شرکت عمال خالصه شریفه و جاگیرداران بمخادیم عظام ذوی الاحترام تشویش می رسد بنابرین محرر که از ابتدای خریف پارس ئیل کروریان و جاگیرداران و متصدیان مهمات ممالک محروسه آراضی مدد معاش مخادیم هرپرگنه را ازچند موضع که مناسب دانند بتمام و کمال بلا شرکت خالصه شریفه و جاگیردار تنخواه نمایند باین طریق که آراضی یک موضع را به موجب فرمان عالی شان که دردست داشته باشند قطعه قطعه چند بسته تنخواه مخادیم آن پرگنه نمایند واگر آن موضع باراضی مدد معاش مخادیم آن پرگنه وفا نه کند بعد ازان موضع دیگر را بهمین دستور تنخواه نمایند - مادام که تمامی اراضی مدد معاش مخادیم آن پرگنه تن داده شود و هرکس از مخادیم در موضع از مواضع آن پرگنه مسجد و چاه و خانه و چوپال و باغ و مثل آن داشته مدد معاش مشارالیه را درهمان موضع تنخواه بدهند و هم اراضی آن موضع را بهر یکی مخادیم تن نمایند واگر کسی در پرگنه ساکن در پرگنه دیگر مدد معاش داشته باشد مادام که سند مدد ندارد او را دران مدخول ندهند مگر آنکه برضا ورغبت خود بلا اکراه و اجبار ترک آن پرگنه نموده درپرگنه که مدد معاش دارد ساکن می شود بردرشمارند درین ابواب کمال سعی بظهور آورند و بزودی زود طومار منقح از هرپرگنه درست ساخته بدرگاه عالم پناه فرستند تحریر فی التاریخ سنه ۱۷ ربیع الثانی سنه ۹۸۶

نمبر ۳۱۷

مقابله نموده شد

Allahabad Documents No.317.

مهر

محمد سعید الدین احمد بن قاضی محمد تاجر
بن محمد ذکریا بن شرف الدین الحنتم
بالشرع الشریف المتین خادم شرع

نقـــــــــــــــــــــــــــــــل

بیع نامه موضع جرها بمهر قاضی عبدالرزاق بگواهی میان مبارک ومیان جمشید لاله ودیگر اصاغر واکابر مرقوم ۲۲ صفر سنه ۹۹۴ هجری اقرار کردند واعتراف صحیح وشرعی نمودند بدین اسامی مسمی نرائن بن اند وبن کلیان زناردار مسمی آسا بن بهگوان بن پرانو بن نکهو مسمی اهین بن مهکی بن ددو بن ننکهو مسمی بهکن بن مکها زناردار مسمی لکهمی بن بدلی بن سروپ زناردار مسمی نروتم بن دودهی زناردار مسمی بنسری وجاسا بن اگنی بن کهرکو کنبر مسمی بارها وپرن و هنمان وبهوسی ابنای منیر بن مانی بن مهاراج کهسر مسمی اهین بن دهرم بن مهکی کیهر مسمی مدن بن نورنگ بن جکرکیر مسمی ادارو وکوپا بن کوپرو نبیر هریکه مقرین مذکورین درحال صحت نفس وثبات عقل طائعین وراغبین بی اکراه واجبار برین جمله مقرین مذکورین بفروختند انچه حق وملک ایشان است ودر تحت وتصرف ایشان است بتصرف ملاکه در املاک ستاربین وبستی تمام ده موضع جرها ومزارع بیهم طرف کنکوپته حویلی اعمال پرگنه سندیله خطه لکهنو محدود به چهار حد

شرقـــــــی	غربـــــــی	جنوبـــــــی	شمالـــــــی
متصل حوض کندریا	متصل حد شارع شهر	متصل کهیری نصف	متصل آبهه جورا و
وکهدره وقصبه	و هورکهورا هار متصل	جلیلانا وحد شارع	کندره قصبه حامد
ننهوه متصل للولی	کچهونا		والا (بابا)

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ستارهی و بستی بست بسوه موضع مذکوربا حدود معین مسطور مقرین مذکورین بیع کردند بدست مفخرالاکابر میان امن بن ادهن بمبلغ ایک هزار و پانصد و شصت سکه مرادی که نیمے آن باشد هفتصد و هشتاد سکه مرادی موصوف با جمیع حدود آن و حقوق آن و موافق آن و قلیل و کثیر و مسیل ما بها الداخل فیها و الخارج عنها و ما ینسب و یضاف الیها و با باغها و قلعه ها و چاه ها و حورها و درختان میوه دار و غیر میوه دار و بیع صحیح شرعی جائز نافذ مطلق و خالی از مکر و تلجیع و عاری از شروط مفسده و معانی مبطله بلقی بتقابض البدلین من الجانبین فی المجلس العقد و ضمان درک به بائعین مذکورین است هذا حسب موجب ز شرع بمقتضی الحکم بمهرین جمله مقرین مذکورین معترف گشتند و این خط بیع نامه با علامت دستخط هاے خود نویسانیده دادند تا ثانی الحال عندالحاجت حجت گردد

تحریر صدر

۲۰ دستخط بخط فارسی

۱ دستخط بخط هندی

نمبر ۱۵۴

الله اکبر

Allahabad Documents No.154.

ظل سبحانی صاحب قران ثانی



پروانچه صدارت وجلالت پناه موسوی خان ازقراربتاریخ شهرگماشتها؟
جاگیرداران وکروریان حال واستقبال پرگنه اونام سرکارلکهنورا اعلام آنکه چون
بموجب فرمان عالی شان حضرت موازی چهار هزارودویست و هفتاد و
نه بیگهه وچهاربسوه زمین بحساب سن که موازی سه هزارودویست ونود و شش
بیگهه پنج بسوه بگزالهی ازقصبه ومواضع پرگنه مذکوردروجه مدد معاش سیادت
مآب سید مطلب وغیره وسید حاتم وغیره وسید علاوالدین وغیره مقرربود وسید حاتم
وغیره وسید علاوالدین وغیره فوت شدند - درینولا بموجب فرمان عالی شان قضا
جریان عالی حضرت خلافت منزلت سلیمان مرتبت ازقراربتاریخ ۹ فروردین الهی
سنه ۱۲ جلوس مبارک موافق سنه ۱۰۴۸ هجری موازی مذکورازمحل قدیم بدستور
سابق بشرط تهانی تصرف در وجه مدد معاش سید مطلب وغیره حی وقائم و
شیخ نظام وسید قاسم وسید بدرالدین وشیخا وغیره وسید عبدالشکوروغیره وارثان
متوفین مذکورین مقررشد - می باید که اراضی مذکوره را دروجه مدد معاش مشارالیهما
بموجب فرمان مقررداشته بتصرف موی الیهما بازگذاشته اصلاً ومطلقاً تغیروتبدیل
بدان راه ندهند وبهیچ اسم ورسم طلب ومطالبه نکنند که حاصلات آنرا فصل
به فصل وسال به سال متصرف شده وصرف معیشت خود ها نموده بدعا گوی
دوام دولت قاهره قیام نمایند درین باب قدغن دانند -

تحریرفی التاریخ غره ربیع الثانی سنه ۱۲ جلوس موافق سنه ۱۰۴۹
هجری فقط

آئین خسره ضبطی پرگنه موضع کیرت پور علمه پرگنه رامپور بابت فصل ربیع سنه ۵

منصف	کارکن		قانون گو			جریب کشان
اجناس	عرض	طول	آراضی	ناپود	باقی	
دیال گندم	۵۰	۵۵	۶ بیگهه ۱۸ بسوه	۱ بیگهه	۵ بیگهه ۱۸ بسوه	
ایضاً گندم	۲۵	۳۵	۲ بیگهه ۴ بسوه	۴ بسوه	۲ بیگهه	
مهما نخود	۳۰	۴۰	۳ بیگهه	۵ بسوه	۲ بیگهه ۱۵ بسوه	
ایضاً نخود	۴۰	۵۰	۵ بیگهه	۱۰ بسوه	۴ بیگهه ۱۰ بسوه	
حکما جو	۱۵	۲۵	۱۹ بسوه	۲ بسوه	۱۷ بسوه	
ایضاً جو	۱۸	۱۸	۱۶ بسوه	۲ بسوه	۱۲ بسوه	
کل میزان			۱۸ بیگهه ۱۷ بسوه	۲ بیگهه ۳ بسوه	۱۶ بیگهه ۱۲ بسوه	

منجمله کل

اجناس	آراضی	ناپود	باقی
گندم	۹ بیگهه ۲ بسوه	۱ بیگهه ۴ بسوه	۸ بیگهه ۱۸ بسوه
نخود	۸ بیگهه	۱۵ بسوه	۸ بیگهه ۱۹ بسوه
جو	بیگهه ۱۶ بسوه	۴ بسوه	۴ بیگهه ۱۶ بسوه
	۱۸ بیگهه ۱۷ بسوه	۲ بیگهه ۳ بسوه	۱۸ بیگهه ۱۳ بسوه

خلاصة السیاق

س ق ۱۲

خــــــــــــــــــــــــــره

کنکرت موضع فلان معموله پرگنه رامپوربابت فصل ربیع قوی ئیل سنه ٥

	عرض	طول	آراضی	غله
مادرگندم	٥ کان	٦ کان	کتل ١٠ منڈله	٦ من
ایضاً	١١ کان	١٢ کان	۷ کتل ٣ منڈله	٣١من
ایضاً جو	٩ کان	١٦ کان	۷ کتل ٨ منڈله	٤٠من
			١٦ کتل ١ منڈله	۷۷من

منحـــــــــــــــــــــــــله

اجناس	آراضی	غله
گندم	٨ کتل ١٣ منڈله	٣۷ من
جو	۷ کتل ٨ منڈله	٤٠ من
	١٦کتل ١ منڈله	۷۷ من

خــــــــــــــــــــــــــره

بهاولی موضع فلان معموله پرگنه رام پور بابت فصل ربیع تخاقوی ئیل سنه ٥
اجناس

	جمله	حصه رعایا	حصه سرکار
مهما گندم	٢٥٠ من	٢٢٥ من	٢٢٥ من

خلاصة السیاق
ص ق ١٢

جمبندی

موضع پرگنه رام پور بابت فصل ربیع فوق

کمرت پور ۱۶۸ روپیه ۱۱

ضبط

آمد		اخراجات		
۴۳ روپیه ۲		۱ روپیه ۵		
گندم	نخود	جو	گندم	نخود
۹ بیگهه ۲ بسوه	۸ بیگهه ۱۵ بسوه	۱ بیگهه	۳ بسوه	۲ بسوه
۲ بیگهان نابود	نابود ۱۰ بسوه	۱۵ بسوه نابود	۱۲	۶
۴ بسوه	۷ بیگهه ۵ بسوه	۴۵ بسوه		
		۱ بیگهه ۱۱ بسوه		
۷ بیگهه ۱۸ بسوه	فی بیگهه ۴ روپیه	فی بیگهه ۳ روپیه		
فی بیگهه ۵ روپیه				
۳۹ روپیه ۸	۲۶ روپیه	۴ روپیه ۱۰		

کنکوت

۱۱ روپیه ۳

گندم	جو
۳۷ من خام	۴۰ من خام
۱۸ من ۲۰ سیر حصه رعایا ۱۸ من ۲۰ سیر حصه سرکار	۲۰ من حصه رعایا ۲۰ من حصه سرکار
فی روپیه ۳ من ۶ روپیه ۳	فی روپیه ۴ من ۵ روپیه

بهارلی

۸۲ روپیه

غله	بهوسی
گندم ۴۵۰ من	
۲۲۵ من حصه رعایا ۲۲۵ حصه سرکار	۲۲۵ من
فی روپیه ۳ من ۷۵ روپیه	فی روپیه ۳۲ من ۷ روپیه

خلاصة السیاق

ص ق ۱۳

عرضداشت - فدوی حلقه بگوش عقیدت اینکه سوبها سنگه آداب بندگی و دایب سرافگندی واعجاز بجا آورده بعرض میرساند پروانه عالی متضمن لالی و شاهوار نصائح ومشعر سخنان نشیب وبلند بحکم پیوست دراسعد این پرتو افگنده معزز ومفتخرساخت ازعطه وفصله این محال مفصل ومشرح واضح رای شده باشد که سلفاً فدوی درخدمت کاری ومالگذاری حکام سابق مستعد بوده وبروقت پیش آنها حاضرمانده باقبال عمال سرانجام وتنبیه مفاسید نموده ورعایا را ازآسیب وهراس محفوظ می داشتند وعمال نیزنظربرمالگذاری و........ وریاست وخدمت گاری چه قسم رعایات وعنایات بحال شان مصروف میفرمودند آن زمان ازاطاعت رسانی این ضلع بندوبست ضبط وربط درین ملک باثین بهین آبادی ملک ....بود ازچهارپنج سال متعهدان زردارنااکرده کارآبادی ملک را مد نظرنه داشته وخانه خرابی خود ورعایا وقوف (وقول) بندگی را جایز کرده ازحضوردرین ملک رسیدند سوای سختی جمع ویرانی ملک وغارت رعایا خیالی دیگربخاطرنمی داشتند ازین موجب طلسم عاملان با مقدورخود قبول کرد نهایتش لاچاری وبیطاقتی برخود گوارا نکرده بگوشه نشست - درینولاله بفضل الهی بندگان عالی درین ملک تشریف تردد ارزانی فرمودند ازآوازهٔ حق رسانی وآبادان کاری اندکی بدل جمعی قرارگرفته وبرعایا تعلقه خود مشتمل نمود سرگرم تردد ساخته باوجودٔ مساک باران وورزیدن بیوقت باد بترد ....مال سرکار را پیدا کنانیده هرچند مصارف سپاه وغیره درآرد تاهم نظربرمال گزاری امانت نگاهداشته انچه ازخارج مسموعه گشته فروعیداران وغرض گویان ازخرفات مرد را حساب (حسارا) مشغولی مزاج مبارک شده خوامخواه بروی جنگ وپیکارآمده اند اگر جمع تعلقه را ازروی موازنه ده ساله بعد وضع نانکارودهیک تشخیص فرموده نشان معتبرازفدوی گرفته مورد عنایات فرمایند بلا وسواس وهراس قدم ازسرساخیه (ساخته) سعادت اندوزملازمت شود درصورتیکه باغوای واغرای برهم کاران و هنگامه طلبان نوعدیگرمرکوزخاطر شد بررائی عالی روشن است که شیری ازجوان مقابل آمده رونس گرداند باری بناچاری می کرد مازمینداریم مسکن خود را غیراز جانبازی

گزاشتن بی آبروی خود خواهند پنداشت از انجا که پاکبازی را حق سبحانه تعالی اهل عدل و صاحب تمیز آفریده حرف بحرف عرضداشت ملاحظه فرموده در امور بندوبست و آبادی بنده باشد بروفق کارآید واجب بود بعرض رسانید -

دستورالعمل بیکس

ورق ۵۱ - ۵۲

